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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS: VOL. II.

VIZ.

I. A Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with Relation to the Ancient *Spanish* Church.

II. An History of the Pope's Behaviour towards *Portugal*, from the Year 1641. until the Year 1666. with reference to his granting of Bishops to that Kingdom, and to all its Conquests.

III. A Discovery of some gross Mistakes in the *Roman* Martyrology, *&c.*

IV. The Legend of St. *James* of *Compostella*, with Animadversions upon it.

V. The sad Catastrophe of *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State to *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*.

VI. An Appendix to the Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of* Sarum.

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TO THE

Moſt Reverend Father in God, *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Metropolitan, &c.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THERE *is no Order of Men, tho' it ſpares none, not that of* Sovereign Princes, *the* Papacy *lies harder upon, than on the* Sacred Order *of* Biſhops; *whoſe Authority it has ſought to leſſen by an hundred Ways and Arts; having long ſtrenuouſly labour'd to ingroſs all* Eccleſiaſtical Authority *and* Juriſdiction *to it ſelf, and to bring all other* Biſhops *to be look'd on only as the* Pope's Delegates, *deriving all their* Juriſdiction *and* Authority, *if not their* Order *too, immediately from the* Pope, *and not from* Chriſt.

And tho' the Man of Sin, *who exalts himſelf thus* above all that are called Gods, *has not hitherto, by all his* Sorcerys, *been able to enchant* Biſhops

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so, as to bring them, in any Council, *to acknowledge themselves, not* Christ's, *but* his immediate Creatures; *they have, nevertheless, been brought to make* Submissions *to him, unworthy of the Dignity of their high Character.*

So the time was, when your Grace's Predecessors, *tho'* Primates *of a greater and nobler* Nation, *than the* Roman *ever was since the Exaltation of the* Papacy, *did esteem it no small Honour to have the Title of the* Pope's Legatus Natus; *that is, in plain* English, The Pope's born Bondslave, *bestow'd on them: And who, notwithstanding their high* Primacy, *and with that Title of* Legatus Natus, *were yet compell'd, in their own Church, to truckle under every* Legate *that came into* England *from the* Pope's side, *tho' of an Order inferior to theirs; to the great Confusion, if not Dissolution, of all* Church Discipline *in* England.

And since nothing but a firm Persuasion of the Catholick Church's *having been in all Times, and in all Places, sub-*

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ject to the Papal Supremacy, could poſſibly have brought Nations, which were never under the Roman Civil Empire, or after they had ſhaken its Yoke off, to have ſubmitted themſelves to the Eccleſiaſtical Empire of that proud City; ſo the Falſhood of that Perſwaſion can be expos'd by no other Way ſo manifeſtly, as by clear Hiſtorical Proofs of that Supremacy's not having been ſo much as known in the Church of Chriſt, in its firſt and pureſt Ages; no not in the Weſtern-Church, for in the Eaſtern it never was ſubmitted to, nor acknowledged.

Now there being no Weſtern Church, which has ſo many Ancient and Authentick Records remaining as the Spaniſh; I apply'd my ſelf with Diligence, impartially to examine thoſe Ancient Records, in Order to learn from them the true State of the Spaniſh Church, untill the beginning of the Eighth Century; for ſo low thoſe Records do reach; And having, by a diligent and impartial Search, plainly diſcover'd, that during all thoſe Ages, the Papal Supremacy, was not only

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only not own'd, but not ſo much as known in that great Church; *I judged it might be of ſome Advantage to the* Church of England, *which reſembles that* Ancient Spaniſh Church *more than any other* Church *does that is now in the World, for to have that prov'd, and the Truth of it publiſh'd.*

The Ancient Spaniſh Church *is here called by me a* great Church, *as well for the* Eminent Piety *and* Learning *of her* Biſhops, *in thoſe Days; as for the Widenеſs of her Extent; not only all* Spain, *which is a vaſt Country, and was then very populous, but a great Part of* Gaul *or* France, *having belonged to her.*

And having been determin'd by the forementionꝰd Reaſon, to write and publiſh a Diſſertation on that Subject; I could not well think of putting it under any other Patronage, than that of the Primate *of the Nobleſt and beſt eſtabliſhed* Antipapal Church *in the World; and which ſo much reſembles the* Church *here treated of; and eſpecially ſince it happens ſo, that that* Primate, *before he aſcended*

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that high Poſt, was a Champion in our Church, *whilſt ſhe was contending againſt the Return of the* Papal Supremacy *over her; and which, being back'd by the* Royal Authority, *ſtruggl'd hard to have forced its Way into* England *again.*

And as the Poſt your Grace *was in at that Time, was juſtly eſteemed the* Forlorn of our Church; *ſo I do very well remember, when all the ſteady Members of the* Church of England *did thank* God *for having filled that dangerous Poſt ſo well, in a Day of ſo fierce a Tryal.*

But tho' this may be ſufficient to cauſe this Dedication *to be proper, it would not have embolden'd me to have made it, had I not been drawn to it, by a ſtrong Senſe of Favours your* Grace *has been pleas'd to confer upon me, which were not only greater than I deſerv'd, but than I ever expected; and not knowing whether I may ever have the like Opportunity again of making any publick Acknowledgments of thoſe Favours, I could not let this ſlip, and eſpecially being led to it by the Matter of the following* Diſſertation.

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The Second Tract, *naturally puts it self likewise under your* Grace's Patronage; *in it the World may see plainly, how great an Unhappiness it is for any* Church *to be under the Government of a* Foreign Primate, *and especially of one so powerful as the* Pope, *and who has so many great* Temporal Interests *of his own to serve and pursue.*

The Third, Fourth, *and* Fifth Tracts, *do also petition for the same Favour; not to protect any of them against having their Mistakes detected; for as that cannot be, so neither is it desir'd; but only to receive some Honour from so great a* Patronage, *until they shall be found not capable of it.*

I shall not give your Grace *any further Trouble, but only to beg Pardon for a Boldness which flows from Gratitude, and your Blessing, with Leave to subscribe my self,*

Your Grace's most humble
and most obliged Servant,

Michael Geddes.

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Papal Supremacy, &c.

TO trace the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pretence to a *Supremacy* over the whole Chriſtian Church, briefly, from its Original; it is founded on a very uncertain Story; for I cannot but reckon that of St. *Peter*'s having been at *Rome*, to be ſo, at beſt; and on the moſt precarious Conſequences, that were ever drawn from that, or from any other ſtory, true or falſe. And that its Riſe, Progreſs, and Continuance, might be all of a piece; that *Supremacy* did viſibly work its way into the *Weſtern Church*, and ſupport it ſelf there, by forging of falſe Evidences, to create, and to continue to it ſelf a *Title*; and by the ſuppreſſing of ancient Records;

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which, had they remain'd, would have demonſtrated that *Supremacy* not to have been from the beginning, as it boldly pretends to have been. And are not theſe the very *Frauds* and *Arts* by which the *Anti-chriſtian Empire* was to be erected in the World, according to the *Scriptures*? And that the Evidences to be met with in thoſe *Divine Writings*, and in thoſe of the *Primitive General Councils*, againſt that *Supremacy*, have been preſerved to us entire, is owing, under God and his eſpecial Providence, to thoſe ancient *ſacred Records* having never been in the ſole keeping of the Biſhops of *Rome*, as all the proper Writings of the *Weſtern Church* were, for ſeveral Ages; but in the cuſtody of all other Chriſtian Churches likewiſe; and by all which that *Supremacy* was ſtill oppoſed, as an *Anti-chriſtian Uſurpation*: For had it not been for this Check, we have great Reaſon to believe, thoſe *ſacred Records* would, on the account of thoſe Evidences, long e'er now, have either been ſuppreſs'd, or taught to ſpeak the *Language of the Beaſt*, as plain as the *Decretal Epiſtles* ſpeak it, which do pretend to the ſame Antiquity; but which, hereafter I ſhall demonſtrate, at ſooneſt, to have been forged in the Seventh Century.

As to the *Primacy*, which was given to the Biſhop of *Rome* by the firſt *Chriſtian Councils*,

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Councils, as it was given to that Biſhop on no other conſideration but that of *Rome*'s being at that time the Seat and Metropolis of the Empire; ſo that *Primacy* did differ juſt ſo much from the *Supremacy* which the Biſhop of *Rome* now lays a Claim to, as a *Primacy of Order and Dignity*, with very little power, and that limited to a ſmall part of the Church, differs from a *Superiority of* an *Univerſal and Uncontroulable Juriſdiction*. And that this was the ſole foundation of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s ancient *Primacy*, is manifeſt from the 28th Canon of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and indeed from the known Rule all the Primitive Councils govern'd themſelves by, in the giving of Precedency to Biſhopricks; which Rule was, that Biſhopricks ſhould have Precedency according to the dignity of their Cities, by the Secular Conſtitutions of the Empire; and accordingly, at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Rome* was made the firſt Biſhop, becauſe *Rome* was the Metropolis and firſt City of the Empire; the Biſhop of *Alexandria* was made the ſecond Biſhop, becauſe *Alexandria* was then the ſecond City of the Empire; and the Biſhop of *Antioch* was made the third Biſhop, becauſe *Antioch* was then the third City; and which, for that Reaſon, tho' it had St. *Peter* for its firſt Biſhop, was poſtpon'd to *Alexandria*, whoſe firſt Biſhop

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was only St. *Peter*'s Disciple. The Bishop of *Jerusalem*, indeed, had a *Precedency* given to him on a Christian consideration; but at the same time the Secular consideration was reckon'd so much stronger than that, that not only the Three forementi-on'd Bishops had the Precedency of him, but he was continued a Subject to the Bishop of *Cesarea*, because that City was before *Jerusalem* in the Constitution of the Empire.

This is the true and plain History of the Bishop of *Rome*'s ancient Primacy; and which, tho' it had very little Authority belonging to it, and that confined too within small bounds, yet I will not say but that that harmless Primacy might be made use of to prepare the Way for that Bishop's *Supremacy* in the Western Church, which, for several Ages, was, as to all *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, under a cloud of ignorance, thicker than can well be believed. And whilst the *Western Church* was thus asleep, the Enemy came, and sow'd this, and many more *Tares* in her Field.

For is it not plain, that the Bishops of *Rome*, after they were in possession of that *Primacy*, were still stretching it; and grasping after more Jurisdiction than belong'd to it, tho' for many years but to little purpose?

So in the 5th Century, the Bishop of *Rome* did challenge to himself a Jurisdiction over all

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all the African Churches; not as St. *Peter's* Succeſſor, but by vertue of a Decree of the Council of *Nice*: But the African Biſhops, and of which Number the great St. *Auſtin* was one, being ſurpriz'd at this new pretence, did ſend into *Greece* for an authentick Copy of all the Acts of that Council; and when they had them, having found nothing in them concerning that Matter, they rejected that Claim of the Biſhop of *Rome's* with Indignation, having clearly diſcover'd that Trick which he would have put upon them.

But the Thing that ſtood moſt in the Way of this *Roman Primacy's* ſwelling in the Eaſt, (tho', as we ſhall ſee hereafter, it was the great means of the Popes acquiring their preſent *Supremacy* in the Weſt,) was the Seat of the Empire, which was the Ground that *Primacy* ſtood on, having been ſoon after remov'd from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*; and to which City, for that Reaſon, the *Eccleſiaſtical Primacy* ought to have gone. And of the great Danger there was that it would do ſo, the Biſhops of *Rome* were ſo ſenſible, that they were both for changing the ground of that *Primacy*, and for keeping the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* from being at all conſider'd on that Account.

But that Biſhop having, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the Pope was able to

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make, had the *Precedency* to *Alexandria* and *Antioch* granted to him, on that conſideration, he did after he was got next to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as it was feared, begin to tread very hard upon his heels; and being on the higher ground, it was not doubted, but that e'er long he would take the advantage of it, and ſtep over him.

And the thing that had hindred that from being done, as ſoon as the *Seat* of the *Empire* was tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*; being now, by the long and conſtant reſidence of the Emperors in that City, pretty much worn out: Which was the profound veneration which had been paid to the City of *Rome* as the *Miſtreſs of the World*; the Emperors now judging it to be ſafe, for to honour their Court with the *Eccleſiaſtical Primacy*, did reſolve to remove it from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*; and accordingly in the year of our Lord 595, the *Eccleſiaſtical Primacy*, and with it the Title of *Oecumenical or Univerſal Biſhop*, was by the Emperor *Mauritius* and a Synod, ſetled for ever on the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and his Succeſſors: That Biſhop had eight years before this, in a Synod, ſtiled himſelf the *Univerſal Biſhop*, to the great diſturbance of the Papal Ambition, which for many years had obſerved all that Biſhop's ſteps, with a watchful and jealous eye.

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The Biſhop of *Rome*, who at that time was *Gregory*, called the *Great*, when he heard of what had been done at *Conſtantinople*, inſtead of putting in his own claim to that Title, did take to himſelf the humble Title, of *the Servant of the Servants of God*; and did with all his force ſet himſelf to batter that *Title* and *Superiority* of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to pieces; and that in general, calling it, in general, a Proud, Perverſe, Fooliſh, and Blaſphemous preſumption; and adding, that as none of his Predeceſſors had ever aſſumed any ſuch Title to themſelves, ſo whoever did it, was certainly an Imitator of Lucifer, and the forerunner of Anti-chriſt, and did by exalting himſelf ſo high above his Brethren degrade all the other Biſhops of the Church: ſo plainly could this Pope, in general, ſee the pernicious Conſequences of an *Univerſal Supremacy* over the Church being lodged in any one ſingle Biſhop.

But the worſt thing in this matter was, that this Pope, at the ſame time that he was declaiming ſo vehemently againſt that *Superiority* and *Title* in the *Eaſt*, was himſelf very buſie in the *Weſt* to help his own *See* there to a Superiority of a much greater Juriſdiction than that he was declaiming againſt: Which fraudulent and double practice of *Gregory*'s, is enough to leſſen his *Saintſhip* very much, in the Opinion of all that

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judge of Men and Things impartially; or if that alone cannot do it sufficiently, let any one but read that Pope's cajolling Letters to the Emperor *Mauritius*, and his Letters written presently after to *Phocas*, by whom *Mauritius* was Depos'd and Murther'd, and after that, think well of *Gregory*'s Saintship if he can.

And here, by the way, I cannot but take notice, that this *Gregory* is the last Pope the Roman Writers give that Title of Saint to, and which they do give to most of the Popes that were before him; as if the Sanctity of the *Roman See* had been drove out of it by the *Supremacy*, which was settled upon it by *Phocas*, within Two Years after this *Gregory*'s Death: And is it not a Thing worth the Noting, that tho' since that Time the Popes have canoniz'd and declar'd so many to be Saints, they have not in an Eleven Hundred Years met with one amongst all their Predecessors whom they could judge worthy of that Title, notwithstanding, for a long Time, they have all had that of Holiness whilst they lived? But to return:

The Emperor *Mauritius* having been Deposed and barbarously Murther'd, with all his Sons, by his Servant *Phocas*; that Paricide being angry with *Cyriacus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for having shew'd some kindness to *Mauritius*'s Widow; and having at the

the ſame time been highly complemented by Pope *Gregory*, and his Succeſſor *Boniface*; to create an intereſt to himſelf in the Weſt, in the year 606 he did by an Imperial Edict, take the *Primacy* from *Conſtantinople*, and ſettle a *Supremacy* on the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Succeſſors. Now here let any one but conſider what a Monſter of Villany this Paricide, *Phocas*, was, to whom the Church of *Rome* owes the Legal Eſtabliſhment of her *Paladium*, the *Supremacy*, and not wonder, if he can, at the hardineſs of thoſe Men, who when they have diſplay'd the Vices of King *Henry* the 8th, do reckon that they have ſufficiently diſcredited his Expulſion of the *Roman Supremacy* out of *England*.

But tho' this Eſtabliſhment of the Roman Supremacy, was, by reaſon of its Author *Phocas* having been Depoſed and Killed ſoon after it was made, of no benefit to the Biſhops of *Rome* in the Eaſt, yet in *Italy* it was undoubtedly of great uſe to them; which being highly diſcontented to ſee the Seat of its own Empire, with all its Honours, tranſlated into *Greece*, could not but be highly concern'd to hold and ſupport that of the *Eccleſiaſtical Primacy*, as the only remaining Enſign of her former Imperial Grandeur: And they muſt not know much of Mankind, that do want to be told, how powerful and imperious ſuch Emulations betwixt

betwixt Nations are, and eſpecially in ſuch a caſe as this of *Italy*'s was; ſo that, tho', as we ſee, the Biſhops of *Rome*, by the Seat of the Empire having been remov'd into the *Eaſt*, were in great danger of having loſt their honorary and empty *Primacy* there; yet thoſe Biſhops were ſo far from being loſers, that they were great gainers by that change; having, by reaſon of the Emperors great diſtance from them, been enabled to aſſume to themſelves a power, which the Emperors, had they reſided conſtantly at *Rome*, would never have ſuffer'd to have ſprung up under their Noſes, agreeably to thoſe Words of St. *Paul*, *And ye know what with-holdeth*; that is, the preſence and the ſtrength of the Roman Empire, *that he*, that is the Anti-chriſt, *may be reveal'd in his time.* But to proceed,

At the time when this Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman Supremacy* was made by *Phocas*, there were divers great Churches in the Weſt, namely, that of the *Britains*, and that of the *Spaniards*, which were no ways affected by it, being under *Civil Governments*, which at that time, had no dependance at all on the Roman Empire.

As to the *Britiſh Church*, from the ſmall Remains that we have left of her Antiquities, we ſee plainly, that, towards the latter end of the Sixth Century, that Church had never

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never been ſubject to *Rome*; and that ſhe was no ways diſpoſed to have ſubmitted herſelf to the *Papal Supremacy*; witneſs the Oppoſition which was made by the *Britiſh Clergy* to *Auſtin* the Roman Monk, and to the Authority of the Roman Church in the point about the time when *Eaſter* was to be obſerv'd; in which, if the Reader deſires to be fully ſatisfied, he muſt repair to the Books of the two moſt Learned Biſhops of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Floyd* and Dr. *Stillingfleet*.

So that the Roman Supremacy was firſt brought into *Britain* by the *Saxons*, who having been converted from *Paganiſm* to *Chriſtianity*, near the end of the ſixth Century, by ſome of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Diſciples; they had been taught by them, that the *Papal Supremacy* was an Authority in the Church of Chriſt's own immediate Inſtitution; which was a trick they could not have put on the *Britains* or *Spaniards*, who had then been Chriſtians for ſome Ages, without having heard of that *Supremacy* before, and by whom it was therefore treated as a novel Invention.

As to the ancient *Spaniſh Church*, after having made as narrow and Impartial a ſearch into her *Antiquities* as I was able, I am perſwaded two things relating to that *Church* may be clearly made out.

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The Firſt is, That before the Eighth Century, the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Juriſdiction or Authority in the *Spaniſh* Church.

The Second is, That when the Biſhop of *Rome* did, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, firſt attempt to introduce his *Supremacy* into *Spain*; that *Supremacy* was rejected and condemned by the *Spaniſh* Church, in a Council of all her Biſhops.

No Man of any reaſon can expect here to meet with expreſs and poſitive proofs in confirmation of the truth of the firſt propoſition, ſeeing, unleſs it be in Propheſies, and which are not wanting in the Scriptures againſt that *Supremacy*, ſuch proofs are not poſſible in the caſe contained in it; all that is poſſible therefore in that caſe, is, to produce ſuch reaſons as will abundantly juſtify what is affirmed in it: And I am much miſtaken if that known Rule, *that things which do not appear, are as if they did not exiſt*, was ever more unexceptionable in any caſe, than I ſhall ſhew it to be in this before us: For let it be but granted, that no Authority, and much leſs a Supream Authority, can poſſibly have been for ſome hundreds of years in any body of Men, which hath frequently aſſembled together to make Laws, without ever having made any diſcovery of its exercife; (and muſt they not be ſtiff Champions, who, for the ſake of their Cauſe, will not grant this?) and

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and I doubt not but from *Records* of unquestionable Authority, to demonstrate the truth of the first Proposition.

Betwixt the year of our Lord 324, when the Council of *Eliberis* was celebrated in *Spain*, and the year 694, when the Seventeenth Council of *Toledo* was celebrated there, no fewer then *Forty Ecclesiastical Synods, National*, or *Provincial*, were assembled in the *Spanish* Church.

I do go no higher than the year 324, because we have no History of the *Spanish* Church before that time: The *Legendary Antiquities* of that Church, which were invented after the Ninth Century, do indeed relate a great many strange successes in it, from the Apostles days; but tho' those *Legends* do in the main make against the *Papal Supremacy*, affirming, that the *Christian Faith* was first Preach'd and Planted in *Spain* by the Apostle St. *James*, without taking notice of his having touched at *Rome*, or of his having had any Commission from Saint *Peter*; and for which reason, those *Legends* tho' they are adored in *Spain*, are much slighted in *Rome*; however, I shall take no further notice of them, than to say, that they are such monstrously absurd, flat, and incredible stories, that nothing can possibly make People of any sense believe them, but their having had *strong Delusions* sent them, as a *Judgment*,

Judgment, that they ſhould *believe Lies*.

On the contrary, the Acts of the *Forty* forementioned *Councils*, which are extant, are, as to the main, all unqueſtionably true and genuine; and had they not been ſo, their Authority would long e'er now have been called in queſtion by *Baronius*, and the other Papal Champions, who wanted not Will to do it. Or if there be any *Interpolations* in them, as I do ſuſpect there may be ſome, ſince all the *Manuſcripts* of them, ever ſince the Pope's Supremacy was admitted into *Spain*, have been, and ſtill are, ſolely in the keeping of Papiſts; none can ſuſpect thoſe *Interpolations*, to have been made, to the Pope's Diſadvantage; and I muſt confeſs, that conſidering how much the itch of forging and interpolating Writings prevailed in *Spain* after the ſeventh Century, I have many times wondred, how they have eſcaped ſo well as they have done. Thoſe Councils were all Printed in *Madrid*, from ſeveral ancient Manuſcripts, and with learned *Notes* upon them, in the Year 1593, by *Garſias Loaiſa*, who was ſoon after made Archbiſhop of *Toledo*.

In all thoſe Councils, Matters relating either to *Faith*, or to the *Diſcipline* of the Church, were handled and decreed; and *Hereſies* and *Hereticks* were condemned; and, in a word, all things were done in them

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them that were judged to be neceſſary to the ſecurity and advancement of true Religion and good Manners in *Spain*. And was it poſſible when all thoſe *Councils* did meet and act thus, that the *Roman Supremacy*, had it then been own'd by that Church, ſhould not on ſo many and ſo great occaſions, have made ſome diſcovery of its Authority by its exerciſe?

Firſt, It is plain from the Authentick Acts of thoſe Councils, that none of them were called by the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Secondly, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Perſon in any of them to repreſent him.

Thirdly, That none of the Decrees of thoſe Councils, concerning either *Faith* or *Diſcipline*, were ever confirm'd by the Biſhop of *Rome*; nor was that Biſhop's *Approbation* and *Confirmation* of them ever deſir'd.

Fourthly, At the end of moſt of thoſe Councils, there is a *Relation of Thanks*, as it is called, in which ſolemn *Thanks* are return'd to *God*, and to the *King*, by whom they were aſſembled, for their good Succeſs; in none of which *Thankſgivings* the Biſhop of *Rome* is ſo much as once named.

Laſtly, In all thoſe Councils the Biſhop of *Rome* is not mentioned often, and never with any intimation of his having any Authority in them. And farther, tho' there were di-

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vers *Canons* made, concerning the *Hierarchy* of the *Church*, by several of those Councils, there is not the least mention of the *Papal Supremacy* in any of those Canons.

But there is one thing which alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the *Ancient Spanish* Church had no regard to the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, no not in matters of *Faith*; which is, that Church's having added *Filioque* to the *Constantinopolitan* Creed, not only without consulting the Popes about it, but contrary to their minds.

And as it is acknowledged by all, that *Filioque* was first added to that Creed in *Spain*, so the first time we meet with that *Addition* there, is in the Third Council of *Toledo*, which was celebrated in the Year 589, and after that, we meet with it again in the Fourth, in the Eighth, the Eleventh, the Twelfth, and the Thirteenth Councils assembled in that City: and as there was a great number of *Gallick* Bishops present at those Councils, so that *Addition* having been carried by them into *Gaul*, it has ever since been in the *Creed* of that Church, as well as in the *Spanish*.

Let us see now whether the Bishops of *Rome* had any Hand in this great *change*, and 'tis certain they had not; this *Addition* having been made in *Spain* above three hundred years before the Roman Bishops would suffer

ſuffer it to be put into their Creed: So after the Council of *Aquiſgrane*, which was held in the year 809, and in which the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt was handled, the Emperor *Charles* the Great, underſtanding that *Filioque* was not in the Roman Creed, ſent a Biſhop and an Abbot to *Rome*, to perſwade Pope *Leo* the third to admit it; but *Leo*, tho' vehemently urged to it by that Emperor's Envoys, would not conſent to its being done: On the contrary he blamed thoſe that had made that Addition, and did wiſh that ſome courſe might be taken to wear it out of the Creed, without giving offence to the People in thoſe Countries in which it had been ſo long uſed; and ſo Zealous was that Pope againſt that Addition, that on this occaſion he cauſed the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed without it, to be graved upon a ſilver Plate in *Latin*, and upon another in *Greek*, and to be ſet up in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. But the *Spaniſh* and *French* Churches, being as ſtiff on the other ſide, for keeping that Addition in the Creed; ſince the Mountain would not go to *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* went to the Mountain; and Pope *Benedict* the Seventh did receive it into the Roman Creed, above Three hundred and Fifty years after it had been in the *Spaniſh* and *Gallick*.

Now let a National Council be called by the King in *Spain*, and let the Pope have no

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body in it to repreſent him; and when it is aſſembled, let it make an Addition to the Creed, not only without the Pope's Permiſſion, but contrary to his mind; and the Pope not reckon that to be a rejecting of his *Supremacy*; and I ſhall then be diſpoſed to believe, that the *Papal Supremacy* might be in *Spain* all the time theſe ancient Councils were celebrated in her.

The ancient *Spaniſh* Church having had a Liturgy of her own, and which differed very much from the *Roman*, is likewiſe a ſtrong Evidence of that Church's having never been ſubject to *Rome*: Of which Ancient *Spaniſh*, or *Gothick* Liturgy, and of the Points wherein it differed from the *Roman*, having given a large Account elſewhere, I will not here, for that reaſon, ſay any more of it.

And as this is, I think, an irreſiſtable Evidence that the Biſhop of *Rome* could not have any Authority, and much leſs a *Supremacy*, in the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, during the whole time of thoſe Councils; ſo the Popes are ſo ſenſible that it is ſo, that for that reaſon they would gladly have all thoſe Ancient *Spaniſh* Councils looked on as Schiſmatical Aſſemblies, for having met, and acted, as they did, without the Biſhops of *Rome*'s Authority, if not in contradiction to it.

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And that the Popes do for this Reaſon, ſtand very ill affected to thoſe ancient Councils, the wiſe and learned Dr. *Vargas* aſſures us, in his Letter writ from *Trent* to the Biſhop of *Arras*, bearing date the 26th of *November* 1551, in which Letter that great Man, writes as followeth. 'There 'was a certain Prelate, who in a general 'Seſſion, had the confidence to ſay on that 'occaſion, that the Councils of *Toledo* were 'all held in contradiction to the Apoſtolical 'See; with a great deal of more ſuch ſtuff, 'which gave no ſmall Offence to a great 'many: Thoſe Councils having been ſo famous, and of ſo great advantage to the 'Church: He that ſpoke this was the Biſhop 'of *Fano*, who is to be made a Cardinal; 'and, as they write, at the Nomination of 'his Majeſty; and who, tho' a Perſon of 'great honour, ſpoke this, becauſe he knew 'it would be grateful to the Legates; and 'would make way for his Promotion. And ſo it did, for in the ſame year that this Letter was writ, we find this Prelate, whoſe Name was *Peter Bartani*, and who was by Nation an *Italian*, created Cardinal of S S. *Marcellini* and *Petri*.

After ſuch a Confeſſion as this from ſo great a Papal Champion, and on ſo publick a Stage, and made on purpoſe to gratify the Pope, I reckon it is needleſs to offer anything

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farther in vindication of the truth of the first Proposition; not but that that Proposition, without this confession, is I think, proved as plainly as any Negative can possibly be proved: So I pass to the Second Proposition, which is, That when the Bishop of *Rome* did, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, first attempt to introduce his *Supremacy* into *Spain*, that *Supremacy* was rejected, and condemned by the *Spanish* Church, in a Council of all her Bishops.

Tho' the Bishop of *Fano* was mistaken when he said, all the Councils of *Toledo* had been held in contradiction to the Pope; for it is certain that Seventeen of them were not, the Papal Authority having never been any ways regarded by any of them; yet as to the Eighteenth Council assembled in that City, he was in the right; for that Council was indeed called in contradiction to the Papal Authority, and when it was met did condemn it; the occasion was this.

In the Beginning of the Eighth Century, when the Pope and his *Monks* were very busie to promote the Cœlibacy of the Clergy, and to impose it upon them: *Witiza*, King of *Spain*, being of opinion that it was an ill thing, did in the year 702, by a Statute, make it lawful for the Clergy, within his Dominions, to marry if they pleased, as they had done formerly: And in this that King

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King was not ſingular, moſt of the Secular Clergy, in all Countreys, having been of the ſame Mind.

But the Pope, who at that time was very high, by reaſon of the frequent and violent changes of Emperors in the Eaſt; and the very Souldiers in *Italy* having lately ſtood by him, in a Conteſt which he had with the Emperor; when he heard of that Statute, was very angry at it, and, in his paſſion, writ to *Witiza*, to abrogate that Law, threatning, if he did not, to take his Kingdom from him.

Witiza, who had not been uſed to ſuch Language, reſented it highly, and did ſend the Pope back word, that he was preparing to viſit him, with an Army at his heels; and would, to chaſtize his inſolence, plunder and ſack the City of *Rome*, as his Anceſtor *Alaricus* had done formerly.

Upon this brisk anſwer of *Witiza*'s, *Baronius* out of his great officiouſneſs to ſerve the Papal Authority, ſteps in, as that Pope's Champion, to maintain his Title to the Kingdom of *Spain*; and makes Proclamation, that among Pope *Gregory* the Seventh's Letters, which are in the *Vatican* Library, he had met with two directed to all the Princes who were willing to invade *Spain*, to drive the *Moors* out of it. In which Letters that Pope tells them, for their Encour-

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agement, that he will grant them the Uſe of all the Countreys in *Spain*, which they were able to recover from the *Moors*; but for the Property of thoſe Countreys, that he could not part with it to them, becauſe it belonged to St. *Peter* and to the See of *Rome*; Count *Euvlus de Roſeio*, of whoſe great Fame they muſt needs all have heard, having many Ages before recovered *Spain* out of the hands of *Pagans*, for the See of *Rome*; and from which See that Count had a Commiſſion to Conquer that Countrey: Now that great Count *Euvlus de Roſeio*'s Conqueſt of *Spain*, having been made many years before *Witiza* was born, that Pope, upon *Witiza*'s having diſobeyed him, had a Right to deprive him of his Kingdom. What can it be, but a Curſe on thoſe that forge Papal Titles, that they have never yet forged one, tho' they have forged a great many, that has ſo much as an appearance of truth in it? for had it not been for that, why might not Pope *Gregory*, when he was forging a Title for his See to all *Spain*, have named the firſt *Gothick* King for the Prince that was employed by his Predeceſſors to recover that Country to St. *Peter* and to his Succeſſors, as eaſily as Count *Euvlus de Roſeio*, whoſe Feats nor Name were never heard of by any Creature living, before they were mentioned by that Pope, in his Letters written

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written on this occaſion, in the Year 1073. And were any Princes, beſides the Weſtern, ſince the World ſtood, ever abuſed or diſturbed by ſuch courſe ſtuff as this, which the Roman Biſhops were for ſome Hundreds of years, continually trumping upon them? and which, if they that wove it, had no opportunity of making uſe of themſelves, they laid it up carefully in their Archives, hoping at one time or another that it might turn to ſome account to their Succeſſors. But to return,

Witiza, who had never heard any thing of Count *Ervlus* having conquer'd *Spain* for St. *Peter* and the See of *Rome*, being much ſurpriz'd at the Pope's intruding himſelf ſo boldly into the Affairs of his Government to put a full ſtop to that dangerous growing power, he did convocate a Council at *Toledo*, of all the Biſhops and Nobles of *Spain*, in the year 704; and who being all met together, did, among other things, which they ordered for the good Government of the Kingdom, declare and decree, *That the Biſhop of* Rome *had no Authority in* Spain, *neither in Church nor State*; for the ſake of which Decree, all the Acts of that Council were long ago totally deſtroyed; and *Mariana* ſaith juſtly, for their having been contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws: He means, I ſuppoſe, thoſe which are now in *Spain*;

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for I believe it would puzzle him to find any Law there before, that they were contrary to.

But tho' the Popes, when they carried all before them in the Weſt, were able to deſtroy all the Acts of that Council; they were not, it ſeems, able to extinguiſh the memory of it; for *Rodericus Toletanus*, who lived in the Thirteenth Century, ſpeaking of *Witiza*, ſaith, he celebrated a Council with the Biſhops and Nobles, in St. *Peter*'s Church in the Suburbs of *Toledo*, about the Ordination of the Kingdom; but which is not in the body of the Canons. He gives no reaſon why it was not there, nor does he take any notice of the Pope's *Supremacy* having been condemn'd in it. *Loaiſa* is of opinion, that this Council was held whilſt *Gonderick* was Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who, as *Rodericus* ſaith, was Illuſtrious with the Gift of Sanctity, and yet more famous for the Miracles which he wrought. That Council muſt therefore have been celebrated in the beginning of *Witiza*'s Reign, when it is certain that Archbiſhop died; and, if ſo, it had both a very good King, and a good Archbiſhop at the head of it: For *Witiza*'s greateſt Enemies do allow him to have been ſo then; and, had he not oppos'd the introducing the Pope's *Supremacy* into *Spain*, he might, in all probability, have been allow'd to have

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continued ſo till his Death; but, for that reaſon, he was of a ſudden much chang'd for the worſe; having, as they ſay, in the latter part of his Reign taken divers Wives or Concubines, and given up himſelf and his Kingdom to Laſciviouſneſs and Luxury; and with which Vices, the Papal Champions do charge that Prince home, ſo confidently, that we ſhould certainly have believed them, had we not known it to have been their cuſtom to treat all Princes ſo, right or wrong, that they are diſpleas'd with. So the Emperors, who oppos'd the bringing of Image-Worſhip into the Chriſtian Church, are repreſented by them, ſometimes as *Jews*, and ſometimes as *Mahometans*; nay, a certain Pope told one of thoſe *Emperors*, that he was altogether as abominable as that Wicked King of *Judah*, who broke the Brazen Serpent which had been made by *Moſes*: So our King *John*, who had diſpleaſed them, was ſaid to be much diſpoſed to have turned *Mahometan*; and for the ſame reaſon *Charles Martell* was very Wicked, and had never repented, his Soul, after his death, having been ſeen in Hell by a Roman Viſionary. But what need we go either ſo far back, or ſo far from home, for a plain inſtance of their having much more regard for ſomething elſe, than they have for truth, in their Characters of Princes: For were it not ſo,

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ſo, would it have been poſſible for them to have repreſented *Mary* Queen of *Scots* as a Saint, and Queen *Elizabeth* as a Devil; beſides we know, that Laſciviouſneſs and Luxury, which are the only crimes they charge *Witiza* with, were thrown by them on all at a venture that oppoſed the Cœlibacy of the Clergy; as if that Cœlibacy were the moſt ſovereign Remedy in the World againſt thoſe Vices. But let *Witiza* towards the latter end of his Reign, be as bad as they make him; yet how can that reflect any diſhonor upon a Council which was celebrated in the beginning of his Reign, when they do all allow him to have been a very good Prince: But to grant as much as they can deſire, which is, that this Council was called by *Witiza* when he was at his worſt; yet even then they do not make him near ſo bad as *Phocas* certainly was, when he eſtabliſhed the *Papal Supremacy* by a Law: No nor as the Empreſs *Irene* was, when ſhe was the great Inſtrument of introducing Image-Worſhip into the Church.

Spain was conquered by the *Moors* within Twelve years after this great Council; and ſince we do not read of any that was held after it, we may, I think, very well conclude that, the *Papal Supremacy* was never in the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church, no more than it was in the Ancient *Britiſh*; and that,

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that, had not the Civil Governments thoſe two Ancient Churches were under, been diſſolved by their being both Conquered by Infidels, it is moſt probable that that *Supremacy* might never have been able to have crept into either of thoſe two Churches.

There is yet one thing, if it wanted it, that would much confirm the *Papal Supremacy*'s not having been known in *Spain* untill after the Seventh Century; which is, the profound Silence there is of it in all the Ancient *Spaniſh* Writers, particularly, in St. *Iſidore*, Biſhop of *Sevil*, a great many of whoſe Books are ſtill extant, and ſeveral of them on Subjects, that had he known any thing of ſuch a *Supremacy*'s having been eſtabliſh'd by Chriſt in the Church, he could not poſſibly but have ſpoke of it with full Cheeks, whereas it is never ſo much as once mention'd by him.

And ſo manifeſt it is, that *in Fact* the Biſhops of *Rome* had no Authority in *Spain* untill after the Seventh Century, that *Ambroſius Morales*, the moſt Learned Antiquary of that Nation, was forced to acknowledge it; and whoſe honeſt confeſſion, in the 4th Chapter of his 12th Book, concerning this matter, I ſhall here ſet down at length in his own words.

Don Lucas de Tuyd, *ſaith* Morales, *affirms that St.* Leander *was the Pope's Legate in this Council,*

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Council, (meaning the Thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, celebrated in the year 539.) *and our Authors have since added, that he had that dignity from S.* Gregory: *The Pope's Legate St.* Leander *might be in that Council, but not* Gregory's, *who was not Pope at that time*; Gelasius *the Second, being then alive. Tho' after all, I do certainly believe, that no account was given to the Pope of the assembling of this Council, or of any of the matters that were treated of in it*; *for had the Pope been consulted, or had he made St.* Leander *his Legate, as De* Tuyd *saith he did, I doubt not but mention would have been made of it in this Council, which we have written at large, and with great diligence. And whereas this Council was thus assembled by the King's command, and no account was given to the Pope of any thing that was done in it, or in any of the following Councils*; *as it is convenient that this matter should be rightly understood, so this being the most proper place to speak of it, I reserved the doing of it till now, tho' I have touch'd on it before.*

We have seen several times, and shall hereafter see much oftner, how the Gothick *Kings did alone, and without ever consulting the Pope, command National Councils to be called, and in which they assembled all the Bishops within their Dominions*; *the Grandees of the Court and of the Palace did also by Custom, and as it were a Law, enter into those Assemblies*; *and by these*

Councils

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Councils whatſoever was convenient for the Faith, and for all other matters in Religion, was order'd; and what much increaſeth the wonder of this, is, that Prelates of great Learning and Sanctity, ſuch as St. Leander, *and his Brother St.* Ilephonſo, *and others, did aſſiſt at many of thoſe Councils; and that the Kings, even after they were* Catholicks, *and not* Arians, *did continue to do in this matter as they had done before; we ſee likewiſe how thoſe Kings, did at their pleaſure place and diſplace Biſhops, and many times for very light Cauſes, without any mention of the Pope in any of thoſe affairs, or in any of the like nature. By this we are compelled to believe, that whereas the* Goths *when they entered* Spain, *were* Arians, *and ſo did not acknowledge the Apoſtolical See of* Rome, *nor were ſubject to it; ſo they did provide and ordain all Eccleſiaſtical matters abſolutely, and as they pleaſed; and that having afterwards turned* Catholicks, *they ſtill retain'd the Poſſeſſion of the ſame power, and went on with it as formerly; and that the chief Pontiff did ſo far diſſemble in this matter, as to ſuffer things to go on ſo; handling the freſh and tender Chriſtianity among the* Goths *ſo delicately, as not to require any thing of them with rigour, as he might have done, fearing leſt he might thereby have cauſed ſome alterations among them, which might have overturn'd the Foundations of that Spiritual Edifice; truſting in God that after that good*

Fabrick

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Fabrick was raiſed higher, he might, by means of full inſtruction, demand of them all that he might and ought to require. So far *Morales.*

We ſee here how this Learned *Spaniſh* Antiquary was forced to acknowledge, that during the time of the *Gothick* Empire, or at leaſt during the time of all the *Spaniſh* Councils that are extant, the laſt of which was celebrated in the year 694; that *in Fact* the Biſhop of *Rome* neither exerciſed, nor laid claim to any Authority in the *Spaniſh* Church; and which, tho' at that time it abounded with Holy, Orthodox, and Learned Biſhops, yet not one of thoſe Prelates did ever expreſs the leaſt diſſatisfaction with their being thus in an abſolute Independency on the See of *Rome*: On the contrary, they met frequently together in Council, and did treat of, and decree matters of Faith, as well as of Diſcipline, without ever conſulting the Biſhop of *Rome*, or giving him any account of any thing they had done relating to their own Church. This you ſee *Morales* acknowledgeth to have been *in Fact*, the ſtate of the *Spaniſh* Church, untill the beginning of the Eighth Century.

But as this great Antiquary was, by an Evidence too ſtrong to be reſiſted of its having been thus *in Fact*, obliged to make this honeſt confeſſion; ſo having made it, he was ſenſible that if he did not attempt to qualify

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qualify it ſo, that it might be no prejudice to the preſent Papal Pretenſions, that it would draw the Thunder of the *Vatican* and of the *Inquiſition* upon his head; he did, for that reaſon, make an offer at ſalving that matter as much as he could, by the forementioned Remark upon it; and which Remark may eaſily be demonſtrated to be altogether inſufficient to that purpoſe.

For *Firſt*, Tho' the Kings of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, were Orthodox from the beginning, yet the Councils that were called by them did not take any notice of the Papal Authority, no more than thoſe did which were called by the *Gothick* Kings.

Secondly, Neither did the Councils which were held in *Spain*, by the Orthodox Biſhops, whilſt their Kings were *Arians*, make any mention of that Authority.

Thirdly, If the *Arians* were not Subject to the See of *Rome*, as *Morales* affirmeth, and truly they were not, how came it to paſs that the Orthodox, if they were all Subject to that See, did never charge the *Arians* with it, as an Hereſie, or as any errour? But the truth is, were there nothing elſe to prove that the *Papal Supremacy*, no more than Tranſubſtantiation, could poſſibly be the received Doctrines of the Primitive Church, but only this, that in the long Ancient Catalogues which we have of Hereticks, there is

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not one charged either with Heresie, or with Errour, for having denied either of those two points; this alone would, I think, go a great way to prove it: And it will I conceive puzzle the subtilleſt head in the *Roman* Church, to give any reaſon why two Doctrines of ſo high a nature, and with ſuch ſlender foundations in the Scripture, ſhould ſolely have eſcaped having their truth called in queſtion; beſides this, of thoſe two Doctrines not having been believed, nor ſo much as thought of in the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity.

Fourthly, From the time of the Third Council of *Toledo*, celebrated in the year 589, in which the *Arian* Hereſie was ſolemnly renounced by King *Recaredus*, untill the Seventeenth Council of that City, celebrated in the year 694, the *Gothick* Kings were all Catholicks, and were in all points reckoned to be Orthodox, by the whole Chriſtian World: Wherefore ſince none of thoſe Kings did ever acknowledge the Pope's *Supremacy*, nor did the *Spaniſh* Church acknowledge it during all their Reigns, as *Morales* confeſſeth, it neceſſarily followeth, that in thoſe Primitive Ages, Princes and Churches were eſteemed Catholick and perfectly Orthodox, without being Subject to the See of *Rome*.

Laſtly, As to the Reaſon which *Morales* gives, for the Popes not having laid any claim to an Authority over the *Spaniſh* Church in a hundred

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hundred years after her Kings and Bishops were all Orthodox; that Reason, must either make the Popes, during all that time, to have been guilty of wicked and most abominable Dissimulation; or must make the acknowledging and submitting to the Authority of the *Roman* See, not to be a thing necessary to Salvation: For tho' in matters, wherein Salvation is not concerned, a prudent connivance may be a great virtue in Church Governours; it is not so, but a wicked compliance, in matters necessary to Salvation: And such a matter the *Roman* Church will now have a Submission to her Authority to be; and will swear, that without that, Christians, let them be never so Orthodox in all other points, and never so Holy, cannot be saved.

The Bishop of *Fano* therefore, to avoid this Dilemma, did at one Breath, damn all the Ancient *Spanish* Councils, which had been so long, and so highly reverenced, as *Schismatical Assemblies*; and consequently condemned all the *Princes*, and *Holy Bishops* that assisted at them as *Schismaticks*: and thus *Diana*'s which want Arguments to prove their Divinity, must have it upheld with noise, and terrible denunciations, and which must be the louder for their being groundless.

Now the *Spanish* Bishops not having taken any notice of the Papal Authority in a hundred years after their Kings were Orthodox,

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dox, in any of the Fifteen National Councils which were called by those Kings; as it demonstrates *Morales*'s Confession to be true; so it likewise demonstrates the Reason he gives, to have no weight in it.

The true Reason therefore, in my opinion, of the Papal Authority's not having been taken notice of in *Spain* during all that time, was, the *Spanish* Bishops having been thorowly instructed in the *Institutes*, and *Canons* of the Four General, and of all the other Primitive Councils; and by which *Institutes* and *Canons*, as is manifest from the thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, the *Spanish* Church did govern her self wholly, as to all matters of Faith, and very much in matters of Discipline, and to this perfect knowledge of the Primitive Councils, to which the rest of the Western Churches seemed to have been strangers, the *Spanish* Church was helped, by a certain Ecclesiastick, whose Name was *Martin*, who was a *Greek* by Nation; this St. *Martin*, for so the *Spaniards* stile him, was First made Bishop of *Dumien*, by *Theodomirus* King of the *Suevi* in *Galicia*, who was Orthodox, as were all the Kings of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, as I have observed before; and which King having called a Council at *Braga*, in the year 560, St. *Martin* the *Greek* assisted at it, as he did also at the Council of *Lugo*; and having been afterwards, by the same

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ſame King, made Biſhop of *Braga*, he preſided in the Council which was called in that City, in the year 572, by King *Ariomirus*, Son to *Theodomirus*, in all which Councils *a Collection of the Inſtitutes and Canons of the Primitive Councils*, made by St. *Martin*, and which he tranſlated into *Latin* for the uſe of the *Spaniſh* Church, was read and received, and which is ſtill extant, at the end of the Second Council of *Braga*.

And ſince this *Martin* was ſo great a Bleſſing to the *Spaniſh* Church, I will here preſent the Reader with what St. *Iſidore* writes concerning him.

Martin *the moſt Holy Biſhop of the* Dumien *Monaſtery*, ſaith Iſidore, *having come from the Eaſt into* Galicia, *and converted the People of the* Suevi *from the* Arian *Impiety to the* Catholick *Faith*; *he inſtituted a Rule of Faith, and of Holy Religion*; *and did likewiſe inſtruct the Eccleſiaſticks, and build Monaſterys, and compoſe copious Precepts of pious Inſtitution.* And in the Tenth Council of *Toledo*, this Learned *Greek* Biſhop is ſaid *to have contracted all the Oriental Councils, into a Compendium.*

Now could the *Spaniſh* Church, which was thus governed by the Primitive Councils, take any notice of the *Papal Supremacy*, which is no where mentioned in them; or do otherwiſe than reject it, when it firſt put in its claim in the beginning of the Eighth Century.

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And here I cannot but observe, that among all the National Churches now in the World, there is not one so much in that State the Ancient *Spanish* Church was in, as the Church of *England*; and in which primitive and excellent Estate, may God Preserve her, untill the whole Catholick Church, is in one Church Triumphant in Heaven. For as these two Churches were plainly of the same Mind, as to the Royal and *Papal Supremacy*; so it will not, I conceive, be a hard matter to prove them to have been unanimous in all the other Substantials of Faith and Worship: And which Paralell I have thoughts of drawing, if I be not prevented in it by some able Pen, as I heartily wish I may; not for the sparing of my own pains, but for the sake of our Church, to which Popery will always be a dangerous Enemy.

After this plain Account of the *Papal Supremacy*'s never having been in *Spain* untill after the year 714, when it was conquered by the *Moors*; the Reader may perhaps be willing to see all that can be objected against the truth of this Account; I shall therefore to gratify him, briefly and honestly lay before him, all that I know that can be objected against it. And to prepare him to entertain the Papal Evidences in this Cause as they deserve, it is fit that he should know before-

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hand, that they are all ſpurious; and that, excepting the Decretal Epiſtles, tho' they were all genuine, they would not prove the Point for which they are produced.

And here not to inſiſt on that Conceſſion which was made by the Biſhop of *Fano* publickly, concerning this matter, in the Council of *Trent*, and that to make his Court to the Pope; The *Firſt* thing that is Objected is, that the Decretal Epiſtles which were written by the Biſhop of *Rome*, one after another, untill the Fifth Century, do expreſly affirm the *Papal Supremacy* to have been in *Spain* ever ſince it was Chriſtian: And as thoſe Epiſtles are very clear as to this Point, ſo from the beginning of the Eighth Century, untill after the Reformation, the Authority of thoſe Epiſtles was never called in queſtion; during all which Ages they were reckoned to be equal, if not ſuperior, to the Decrees of the Councils of the Church: And with which they were, for that reaſon, commonly bound up. So in all the Manuſcripts of the Councils *Loaiſa* made uſe of, he tells us, he found the Decretal Epiſtles ſtill in the ſame Book with them; nay even ſince the Reformation, after their Authority had been rejected by the *Magdeburgenſes*, *Turrianus*, one of the Firſt Jeſuites, and who was a Learned Man, was imployed to defend them; and which he did in Ten Books,

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with great Fury, and with ſomething elſe that ſhall be Nameleſs; and which was not Ignorance. After him *Binnius*, who has publiſhed all thoſe Decretal Epiſtles in his Collection of the Councils, does not only applaud *Turrianus* for what he had done, but does himſelf alſo attempt to maintain that they be all genuine.

But tho' there could be no Doubt of the *Papal Supremacy*'s having been in the *Spaniſh*, and in all other Churches, if thoſe Epiſtles were genuine, the *Papal Supremacy* being their burden; our Comfort is, that one would not think it poſſible, for any body to read thoſe Epiſtles, and afterwards to doubt of their being ſuppoſititious: For none can read them and not feel that they were all writ with one and the ſame dull Pen, and that they are all full of barbarous Words and Phraſes, which were not known in the Ages when they are ſaid to have been written. And tho' the Man that forged them, whoever he was, was ſo much an Antiquary, as to know, that when they were ſaid to have been written, the Cuſtom was in the date of Letters, to name the Conſuls of the Year; yet ſo unfortunate was that poor Wretch, as ſcarce ever once to name the right Conſuls. But muſt not the forgery of writings, which do highly advance the Papal Authority, and which were for ſome Ages its chief Glory and Support,

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Support, be palpable indeed, when *Baronius* ſhall be forced to acknowledge it; as he does the Decretal Epiſtles having been forged, in his Annals on the year 865; And after him Cardinal *Bona*, whoſe Words concerning thoſe Epiſtles, in the Third Chapter of his Firſt Book of Liturgys, I ſhall here ſet down, and ſo diſmiſs thoſe groſs Impoſtures.

It has been long obſerved, by the Learned, ſaith that Cardinal, *that the Decretal Epiſtles were all forged by ſome* Spaniard, *under the Name of* Iſidore, *whoever he was, towards the End of the Seventh Century; they were forged with a pious Fraud, out of the Sentences of the Old Canons, and of the Civil Laws, and of the Holy Fathers, who flouriſhed in the Fourth Century; they are, for the moſt part, full of vile chronological Miſtakes, and are almoſt writ in the ſame Stile and Character of writing:* Riculphus, *Biſhop of* Mentz, *Firſt brought them out of* Spain *into* France, from whence *they were diſſeminated over all other Countreys, and were commonly believed.* If he had pleaſed, he might have ſaid *univerſally*; for before the Reformation, he would certainly have been puniſhed as an Heretick, that ſhould in the leaſt have queſtioned their being genuine; being the only Channel of Tradition the Church of *Rome* had for her *Supremacy*; and which, not being ſo much as mentioned in the Scriptures, can have nothing but Tra-

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dition to ſtand upon. And the Truth is, the ſupplying of the great want of that Tradition, was the only Motive to the forging the Decretal Epiſtles; and which were not publiſhed under the Name of *Iſidore*, as *Bona* intimates, for that would have ſpoil'd the whole Plot; but as the genuine Writings of the Ancient Biſhops of *Rome*, whoſe Names are prefixed to them. Neither has it fared any better with *Conſtantine*'s Donation, of which the Biſhops of *Rome* made ſo great uſe to eſtabliſh their Authority in *Italy*; which Donation, the plague of Learning being got into the Weſt, for nothing elſe could have done it, *Baronius* was forced to confeſs likewiſe to be a groſs Impoſture; and not only ſo, but to affirm, that it was forged by the *Greeks*, and in malice to the *Roman* Church: Which is a ſtrange turn indeed, conſidering that not much above Two hundred years ago, when Learning began to dawn in the Weſt, the Learned *Valla* brought himſelf into great trouble, and was, if I am not much miſtaken, impriſoned in *Italy* as an Heretick, for having proved that Donation to be a forgery. But the Papal Authority, being with time, and a Thouſand frauds, now grown ſtrong enough to ſtand alone, without the Crutches ſhe made uſe of when ſhe was weak; ſhe ſuffers her Champions, now that thoſe Writings cannot, without reflecting upon her honour,

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honour, be maintained to be genuine with the ſame zeal they were in the days of ignorance, to part with them as forgerys, for their being palpably ſo: But withall, contrary to matter of Fact, to deny at the ſame time, that ſhe had any hand in the forging of thoſe Writings; or did ever make uſe of ther Authority, to introduce and ſupport her *Supremacy* in the Weſtern Church.

A *Second* thing that may be objected, is the Letter which was written by Pope *Innocent* the Firſt to a Council aſſembled in *Toledo*; and which Letter, *Loaiſa* ſaith, muſt have been ſent to the Firſt Council which met in that City; and for that Reaſon he has inſerted it into its Acts; the Second Council in that City not having met untill near a Hundred years after Pope *Innocent*'s Death.

Firſt, This, with Twenty more Epiſtles which are publiſhed under Pope *Innocent* the Firſt's Name, are proved to be ſpurious, by *Eraſmus* and many other Criticks.

Secondly, Tho' it is pretended in this Letter, that *Innocent* had been Biſhop of *Rome* ſome years before he writ it, it is certain he was not choſen Pope untill at leaſt Two years after that Council was diſſolved: So that it could be nothing but *Loaiſa*'s being unwilling to let thoſe Councils come abroad, without any appearances of the Biſhops of *Rome* having had any concern in them, that could

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could have tempted him to have annexed that forged Letter to the Acts of that Council.

A *Third* thing that may be objected, is, That in the Preface before that Rule of Faith which *Loaiſa* has annexed to the Firſt Council of *Toledo*, the Biſhops ſay, that they were ordered by *Leo*, Pope of the City of *Rome*, to ſend the Rule of Faith to *Balcomius* Biſhop of *Galicia*.

To this I Anſwer. *Firſt*, If all that is ſaid here of Pope *Leo* were true, it would amount to no more, than what any foreign Biſhop, whoſe Name was high for Learning and Piety, as *Leo's* was, might have done; nor was it more than St. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* did, in this very Council.

Secondly, How could Pope *Leo*, order the Biſhops by whom the Rule of Faith was made, to ſend it to *Balcomius*; ſeeing, if it was made by the Firſt Council of *Toledo*, it muſt have been made Forty Years before he was Pope; which he was not before the Year 440, whereas that Council was held in the Year 400.

Thirdly, *Balcomius* was not, till Twelve Years after that Council, Biſhop of *Galicia*; and being ſo then, conſidering that none in thoſe days were made Biſhops, and eſpecially Metropolitans, untill they were Ancient, *Balcomius* muſt have lived to an unuſual Age, to be Contemporary with Pope *Leo*.

Laſtly,

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Laſtly, Since that Preface ſaith, that the Rule of Faith that followeth it was made in a Council of *Toledo*, and we do not meet with any Council in that City that could have made it with that Preface, no Council having met in *Toledo* in Forty Years before or after Pope *Leo's* time; I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect that Rule of Faith to have been made ſome Ages after the Firſt Council of *Toledo*, and to which it was annexed by *Loaiſa*, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe 'twas the Council of that City that was the neareſt to Pope *Leo's* time, tho' it was diſſolved Forty Years before he was Pope: And yet notwithſtanding that, it is very plain, that he that made that Preface would have had the World to have believed, that the Rule of Faith which followeth it, was made by the Firſt Council of *Toledo*; for he ſaith in that Preface, that the Council which made it, and, by Pope *Leo's* order, ſent it to *Lalcomius*, did likewiſe make the above-written Twenty Canons, which is exactly the Number of Canons that were made by the Firſt Council of *Toledo*: Which, I think, does ſufficiently diſcover that Preface to be a blundering forgery. And as to the Rule of Faith it ſelf, there is one thing that makes me ſtrongly ſuſpect it not to have been made by that Council, which is, that the Holy Ghoſt is ſaid expreſly to proceed from the Father and

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and the Son; which Addition was not, I conceive, added to the Creed, by Two hundred years so soon as the First Council of *Toledo*.

A *Fourth* thing that may be objected, is, That in the Preface to the First Council of *Braga*, this Story concerning Pope *Leo* is repeated, and with an Addition of that Pope's having sent his writings against the *Priscilian* Sect, to a Council in *Galicia*, by *Theoribius* the Notary of his See.

To this I Answer. *First*, That if the forementioned Rule of Faith be of a later Date than this Council, as probably it is, this Story which is taken out of its Preface, must have been foisted into this, to give it some Credit. And as to the new Circumstance added to that Story, in this Preface, that does not at all make for its being genuine.

For *First*, *Theoribius*, who is stiled by Pope *Leo*, Bishop; and by *Mantanus* Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, the most Blessed and Religious Bishop; is, in this Preface, called the *Notary* of Pope *Leo*'s See; an Office too low for any Bishop; And of the improbability of this *Baronius* is so sensible, that he saith *Notarius* there, cannot signify that *Theoribius* was a *Notary* of the *Roman* See, but that he was to report and *notify* to that See all that passed in that Council; which being a new signification of the Word *Notarius*, that Cardinal ought to have given one single Instance at least

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leaſt where it had been uſed ſo: And ſo he would, I ſuppoſe, if he had been able.

Secondly, *Montanus*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, in a Letter which he writ to the Clergy of *Palencia*, to watch the *Priſcillian* Hereſy, and which is extant in the Second Council of *Toledo*, tells them of Biſhop *Theoribius* having publiſhed Books againſt that Sect, and which were ſent by him to *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*; but ſaith not a Word of *Leo*'s having ſent his Writings againſt that Sect to *Theoribius*, or into *Spain*: Tho' if *Leo* had done that, and the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority had then been high in that Countrey, nothing could have been ſo much for *Montanus*'s purpoſe in that Letter, as to have ſpoke of it at large.

Laſtly, As I have obſerved already, there was no Council in *Galicia*, nor in any other part of *Spain*, within Forty year of Pope *Leo*'s time.

A *Fifth* thing that may be objected, is, Pope *Leo*'s long Decretal Epiſtle to *Theoribius*, in which that Pope writes that he had ordered a Council to be called in *Spain*. Now ſince this Decretal Epiſtle of *Leo*'s is the groundwork of this whole Story, it may be convenient to enquire whether it be not ſpurious.

Firſt, This Decretal Epiſtle of *Leo*'s has no Date to it; which is but an ill ſign, conſidering that Pope, in all or moſt of his genuine Letters, was very exact in his Dates of them, and

and in naming the Consuls of the Year.

Secondly, We see *Montanus* did take no notice of that long Epistle, when he had great Occasion for to have done it.

Thirdly, We find that Letters of the very same stamp were counterfeited in *Spain*, and fathered upon Pope *Leo*; witness the Decretal Epistle to the Bishop of the Province of *Tours*, which *Sirmondus* saith was forged by a *Spaniard*, and taken out of the Acts of the Council of *Sevil*. The Sermon also on the Nativity of St. *Vincent*, a *Spanish* Martyr, which goes under *Leo*'s Name, was coyned in the same rich Mint, for in the Eighth Century *Spain* was such for Forgerys.

Fourthly, In that Decretal Epistle, the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father and the Son; which Doctrine, I have shewed, was not received by the Bishops of *Rome*, untill some Hundreds of years after *Leo*'s Death, into their Creed. Neither does it appear, that in a long time after *Leo*, it was received by any of his Successors, as a sound Doctrine; tho' it certainly is, and had before that, been affirmed by some of the *Latin* Fathers. Now this last Evidence of that Decretal Epistle's being spurious, is made use of by *Baronius*, to prove that *Filioque* was added to the Creed in *Spain* by the Bishop of *Rome*'s Order.

To

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To which I anſwer. *Firſt*, If Pope *Leo* was for having that Addition made to the Creed in *Spain*, why did he not add it at the ſame time to the *Roman* Creed, to which we ſee it was not added in many Ages after?

Secondly, *Leo*'s Succeſſors for ſo many Ages, did either know that he had ordered that Addition to be made to the Creed in *Spain*, or they did not know it; if they knew it, and at the ſame time blamed its having been made, and refuſed to admit it into their Creed, as we ſee they did, they muſt then have reckoned *Leo* to have erred in *Cathedra*, in giving wrong Directions about a matter of Faith: And if they did not know it, which is moſt probable, how came *Baronius* to diſcover it Eight hundred years after. If it be ſaid, from this Decretal Epiſtle; I anſwer, Tho' that Doctrine is in this Epiſtle, there is no command in it to *Theoribius*, or to any body elſe in *Spain*, to add it to the Creed; *Leo*'s Succeſſors muſt therefore either never have ſeen this Epiſtle, or not have been able to have diſcovered that Command in it; or they muſt not have looked on it, to be Pope *Leo*'s Letter. But moſt certain it is, that this Decretal Epiſtle had lurked ſo cloſe, as never to have been ſeen or heard of, by the *French* Biſhop, and Abbot, who were ſent by the Emperor *Charles* the great to Pope *Leo* the Third, to perſwade him

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him to receive *Filioque* into the *Roman* Creed: For, as in that long Conference which they had with *Leo* about it, and which is still extant, they used all the Arguments they could think of to perswade that Pope to admit that Addition; so they did take no notice of Pope *Leo* the First having either commanded that Addition to be made to the Creed in *Spain*, or of his having in any of his Epistles delivered that for sound Doctrine; which alone, if they had used it, would have done them more service than all their other Arguments put together.

Lastly, If this Letter of *Leo*'s were certainly genuine, it could only prove that, which no body ever doubted of, *viz.* that *Leo* was very forward to extend the Authority of his own See; but it could not prove, that the *Spanish* Bishops did Submit to his Command so far as to call a Council presently in Obedience to it; neither is it any where said that they did: But supposing a Council, whose Acts, and very Name are lost, had been assembled in *Spain* about that time, why must that Council needs have been called in Obedience to this Letter of *Leo*'s to a private Bishop; and not, as all the *Spanish* Councils were that are extant, upon the Prince and the Bishops, among themselves, having judged such an Assembly to be necessary; and that without taking any more notice of the Pope,

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Pope, than of the Biſhop of *Eugubium*; and which we are certain was the Caſe of all the ancient *Spaniſh* Councils that are extant.

I have dwelt the longer on this Letter, becauſe, beſides thoſe in the Decretal Epiſtles, which muſt always be excepted, it contains the only Claim, that I have met with, made by any Biſhop of *Rome* to an Authority over the *Spaniſh* Church, untill after the ſeventh Century.

A *Sixth* thing that may be objected, is, Pope *Gregory*'s two Letters, the one to *Recaredus* King of *Spain*, and the other to *Leander* Archbiſhop of *Sevil*; in both which Letters *Gregory* takes notice of his having ſent *Leander* a Pall.

I anſwer, Were theſe two Letters certainly genuine, they would be to all that know any thing of the Man they were writ by and the occaſion of them, a ſtrong Evidence of the Papal Supremacy not having been in *Spain* at the time when they were written: For as no Pope was ever more forward to magnify the Authority of his See than this *Gregory*, ſo the Occaſion of his having writ theſe Letters, if they were written by him, was, King *Recaredus* having been converted from the *Arian* Hereſie to the *Catholick* Faith; on which Occaſion, tho' the writer of theſe Letters rejoyceth very much, yet he has not one word in them of the King's mak-

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ing his Submission to the See of *Rome*, nor of his being admitted into the bosom of the Church by the Authority of that See; nor of any of those things which the Popes, where their Supremacy has been own'd, have constantly required on all such occasions: For besides that of the Pall, there is not in both those Letters any intimation of the Bishop of *Rome*'s having any Authority in *Spain*. And as to that of the Pall, tho' that might have been an Argument of *Gregory*'s having had a mind to have given a beginning to the introducing of the Papal Authority into *Spain*; yet it could be no Argument of that Authority's having been there at that time; since neither the King nor the Archbishop did ever, that we read of, send to *Rome* to desire a Pall, nor does the writer of those Letters say they did; nor do we find that they did ever thank *Gregory* for it: But whatever *Gregory*'s design might have been in sending that Pall, it is certain that it wrought no change in *Spain*, as to the *Papal Authority*; for as before, so after this, there were above Twenty Councils held in that Kingdom, and Two or Three of them by *Recaredus*, not one of which Councils was either called by the Pope, or had its Decrees, relating to matters of Faith, confirmed by him; nor is there in any of them any mention of the exercise of the *Papal Authority* in *Spain*.

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Spain. Furthermore, *Recaredus*, if he ever did write to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was it ſeems in no great haſte to write to him; for he had been converted and reconciled to the Church, and had held a Council in *Toledo*, which conſiſted of Seventy Two Biſhops, and in which the *Arian* Hereſie was condemned, above Ten Years before this Letter was writ, which bears date the Second Indiction. *Mariana* being ſenſible that *Recaredus*'s having delayed writing to the Pope ſo long after his Converſion, and his having in the mean time called Councils wherein Matters of Faith were Decreed, was a ſign that the *Roman* See was not at that time much regarded in *Spain*; he thinks to ſolve the matter by ſaying the Envoys, by whom *Recaredus*, preſently after he was converted, did ſend his Letters to *Rome*, and to which Letters this Epiſtle was an Anſwer, having met with ſtormy weather, had a very tedious Voyage of it; and ſo they muſt indeed if they were Ten Years in their Journey betwixt *Spain* and *Rome*. But as the *Ptolemaick* Aſtronomers invented *Cycles*, and *Epicycles*, to ſupply the defects in their *Hypotheſis*; juſt ſo the *Roman* Champions deviſe whatſoever is poſſible to ſerve theirs; as if a thing's being barely poſſible, tho', I think, this Journey is hardly ſo, did make it credible.

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But tho' it would be to the advantage of the Firſt Propoſition affirmed in this Diſſertation, That theſe Letters were genuine, yet I cannot but ſay that I do ſtrongly ſuſpect that they are Spurious.

For *Firſt*, The ſtile in theſe Letters, ſeems not to be the ſame with *Gregory*'s.

Secondly, In the Councils of *Spain* which were held about this time, there is no mention of theſe Letters, nor of any thing that is contain'd in them; no nor of *Recaredus*, or *Leander*'s Letters, to which they pretend to be Anſwers.

In the *Fourth* Council of *Toledo*, there is mention indeed of *Leander*'s having writ to the Pope, but it was not for a Pall, but concerning the Ceremony of the three dippings in Baptiſm; and, about which, *Leander* writ to *Gregory*, not as Biſhop of *Rome*, but as to the moſt Learned Doctor of that Age; or, as it is worded by that Council, as to one who had illuſtrated the Church with his great Learning.

Thirdly, In a Letter to *Recaredus*, that King is told of Two Keys being ſent to him, which had been touched by St. *Peter*'s Body, and that in one of them there was ſome of the fileings of the Chain that Saint was *bound* with, when he was Crucified; but which would *looſe* him from all his Sins: Now I can hardly think that in *Gregory*'s days

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days any Relick whatſoever was believed to have ſo much virtue in it: We meet, it is true, with mention of the ſame ſort of Relick, and with the ſame Witicifm upon it, in another Letter that goes under that Pope's Name; but who can vouch for that Letter's being genuine more than for this, or indeed for the major Part of the Letters which are publiſhed under that Pope's Name; the Forgers of Writings having made more uſe of this *Gregory*'s Name, than of the Names of all the other Popes put together.

Laſtly, It may be objected that the Thirteenth Council of *Toledo* was aſſembled at the Requeſt of Pope *Leo* the Second, upon his having ſent the *Inſtitutes* of the Second Council of *Conſtantinople* to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops.

I Anſwer, This is all true, and, being ſo, it affords us a very plain proof of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s not having any Authority in *Spain* at that time.

For *Firſt*, The *Spaniſh* Biſhops, when they met in this Council, ſpeaking of that Popes Letter to them, do ſay, that he had *invited* them, but not that he had *commanded* them to receive thoſe *Inſtitutes*.

Secondly, Tho' thoſe *Inſtitutes* had been recommended to them by that Pope, as the Decrees of a general Council, they declared that the *Spaniſh* Church was under no obli-

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gation to receive them, before they were approved of and confirmed in a Council of her own Biſhops.

Thirdly, When thoſe *Inſtitutes* were received, they declared that they received them ſo far and no farther than they agreed with the Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Calcedon*; without taking any notice of the Pope's Authority by whom thoſe *Inſtitutes* had been ſent to them.

Laſtly, This Council ends with a Solemn Relation of Thanks to God, and to the King, by whom it was called, without any mention of the Pope.

But this Affair reſted not here; for *Julianus*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, having, on this occaſion, with the Approbation of all his Brethren, affirmed, 1ſt, That in *Deo voluntas genuit voluntatem, ſicut ſapientia ſapientiam*; and 2dly, *Quod in Chriſto erant tres Subſtantiæ*; with Two heads more, which are not named; Pope *Benedict*, who ſucceeded *Leo* the Second, being offended with thoſe Four heads, he ſignified ſo much to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, hoping by ſuch means to have by degrees riggled his Authority into *Spain*: But that Pope was much miſtaken in the Men he had to deal with; for in the Fifteenth Council of *Toledo*, the *Spaniſh* Biſhops were ſo far from recanting any of thoſe Four Heads, upon that Pope's having declared that he

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he was displeased with them, that, on the contrary, they justified them all; and in such a manner as demonstrated that they had no regard to the *Roman* Bishop in any matter of Doctrine, any farther than as he agreed with the Primitive Fathers.

For having proved the Two First Heads at large to be Orthodox, from the *general Councils* and from St. *Athanasius*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Austin*, St. *Cyril*, and others; they branded all that would not Submit to their Authority in that matter, with the infamous Mark of impudent and insolent Scrutators.

And as to the Two last Heads, they did without naming them, say, That not only their sense, but almost their very words were taken from the most Blessed St. *Ambrose*, and *Fulgentius*; and of which Two Doctors they said on that occasion, *Quod omne quod contra illos sapitur, a rectæ fidei regulâ abhorrere sentitur.*

What would not the Church of *Rome* give to have had the same said by the Ancient *Spanish* Church of any of her Bishops? and how impudent a thing, after such a confession, would she have reckoned it in any one in the least to have questioned that Ancient Church having believed Her to be infallible in all matters of Faith? And yet neither She nor no Christian Church else, do

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from hence conclude, that the Ancient *Spaniſh* Church believed either St. *Ambroſe*, or *Fulgentius*, or their Sees of *Milan* and *Raſpis*, to be infallible. Tho' I do not think there is in all Antiquity any Proof equal to this, of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s having been believed to be ſo; no more than there is in the Scriptures any Teſtimony of St. *Peter*'s having been the ſole univerſal Paſtor of the Church, equal to that of St. *Paul*'s having ſaid of himſelf, *Beſides thoſe that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the Care of all the Churches.*

But ſo far were the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, on this Occaſion, from ſaying as much of the Pope they were contending with, or of any of his Predeceſſors, that at parting they gave him a blow which ſhows manifeſtly how little they regarded his Authority; concluding their vindication of the *Four Heads* that Pope was offended at, with the following reprimand.

Jam vero, ſi poſt hæc & ab ipſis dogmatibus Patrum, quibus hæc prolata ſunt, in quocunque diſſentiunt; non jam cum illis eſt amplius contendendum: Sed Majorum directo calle inhærentes veſtigiis, erit per Divinum Judicium, Amatoribus Veritatis Reſponſio noſtra ſublimis; etiamſi ab ignorantibus æmulis ſentiatur indocilis.

And,

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And, as this is the first time we find the Bishop of *Rome* thrusting his Sickle into the *Spanish* Harvest; so, would it not have been more for the Honour, both of that Bishop, and of his See, to have forborn doing of it, untill, by his common Arts, he had disposed the *Spanish* Clergy to think he had some Authority over them?

But as this Transaction being recorded at length in the Fifteenth Council of *Toledo*, made it too publick for *Baronius* to pass it over in silence, so, for that reason, he mentions it in the year 685, but in such a manner, and in so great haste to get to the end of it, that one sees plainly that he found it too hot for him to handle: And all that he offers to fetch off the Pope upon this repulse, is, That the Pope was for having transacted this matter with the *Spanish* Bishops *amicably*, and in a way of Charity, and not of Authority; to which wretched and humble shift this Annalist was driven, by his perceiving plainly that if the Pope did use any Authority in this matter, his Authority was much slighted; and, for that reason, and no other, he will not have him to have used any. Whereas, had the *Spanish* Bishops happened to have been in the wrong, and to have acknowledged that they were mistaken in those Four Heads the Pope found fault with, we should then have had *Baronius* vapour with their

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their having recanted what they had before eſtabliſhed, barely upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom they believed to be infallible in all Matters of Faith, having interpoſed his Authority, and declared all thoſe Heads to be Errors: And we ſhould have had this whole Tranſaction pompouſly diſplayed in more Pages than he beſtows Lines upon it now, carrying his Pope from it very abruptly, and in great haſte, as far as *Antioch*.

And is it any wonder that a Church, which in the year 688, ſhewed ſo little reſpect to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority in matters relating to Faith; ſhould in the year 704, when that Biſhop laid a barefaced claim to a Supremacy over her, reject that new and bold claim with indignation? as we have before obſerved ſhe did in the Eighteenth Council of *Toledo*, whoſe Acts the Pope for that reaſon has taken care to Suppreſs: For there having been but Sixteen years betwixt thoſe two Councils, many of the Biſhops who were preſent at the Firſt, probably aſſiſted at the Second; and whoſe Acts, could they be recovered, would give the Papacy a wound as deep as that which was given it by the Twenty eighth Canon of the General Council of *Calcedon*; and which Canon, had it not been preſerved by the *Greeks*, would never have been heard of in the Weſtern Churches; there being no mention of it in any

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any of the Manuſcripts, *Greek* or *Latin*, which were in the Weſt before the Reformation. *Tantæ molis erat, Romanum condere Papam.*

This is all that I know that can be objected againſt what I have affirmed concerning the *Papal Supremacy*'s not having been acknowledged or exerciſed in *Spain*, untill after the beginning of the Eighth Century; unleſs it be, that here and there in thoſe Councils honourable mention is made of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and of his See: So in the Firſt Council of *Toledo*, *Syricius* Biſhop of *Rome* is named, but in the ſame place St. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* is named with him, and before him: And in the Third Council of *Toledo*, the Synodical Epiſtles of the Biſhop of *Rome* are joyned with the Decrees of the *Councils*, but that was becauſe thoſe Epiſtles did contain the ſame Doctrine in them, which was decreed by thoſe Synods; and for the ſame reaſon, honourable mention is made in the ſame Council, of the Synodical Epiſtles of St. *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria*: And as to the See of *Rome* being in Three or Four places of theſe Councils, ſtiled the *Apoſtolical* See; it is plain, that all *Epiſcopal* Sees, as well as that of *Rome*, were ſtiled *Apoſtolical Sees*, by the ancient *Spaniſh Biſhops*. So *Martin*, Biſhop of *Braga*, begins that Letter of his to *Nitigius* Biſhop of *Lucus*, now *Oviedo*,

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do, which is extant in the Acts of the Second Council of *Braga*, thus, *Domino Beatissimo, atque Apostolicæ Sedis honore suscipiendo*, &c.

But, as a wise *Spanish Historian* did caution Princes against lending any Presents to Popes, because they are very forward to look on all Presents that are made them, as Tributes; or at least to Record them to have been so, for the use of their Successors; so Princes, and all others, had need be careful how they complement *Popes* with high Titles, who have so often screued Expressions of common Civility, up to real Acknowledgements of their *Supremacy*.

But honourable mention having been made here and there in those Councils of some of the Bishops of *Rome*, and of their See; is so far from being any Advantage to their *Supremacy* in this case, that it is quite otherwise; in shewing, that it was not from any displeasure the *Spanish* Princes had conceiv'd against the Popes and their See, that they exercised no Authority in any of their Councils; but was purely from the *Spanish* Princes and Bishops, not believing, nor dreaming, of the Bishop of *Rome's* having a *Supremacy* in their Church.

I shall add but one word more, and that is, That to lay open the Arts and Practices by which the *Roman Supremacy* crept into *Spain*, upon that Country having been slowly

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flowly recovered out of the hands of the *Moors*, by the Chriſtians; and who for the moſt part were not *Spaniards*; for we read the *Spaniſh* Chriſtians who had all along continued under thoſe Infidels, when they came to have Chriſtian Princes again, were not much diſpoſed to ſubmit themſelves to the *Roman See*; would be a Work worthy of the pains of any Learned *Eccleſiaſtical Antiquary*, that is at leiſure to go about it.

To conclude, as the *Papal Supremacy* was a thing not known in the ancient *Gothick Spaniſh Church*: So that the *Popiſh Doctrines* of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and of *Purgatory*, and of *Praying* to *Angels* and *Saints*, and of *Adoring Images*, and of *Auricular Confeſſions*, &c. were as little known in her; may, I conceive, eaſily be proved from her *Records*, which are extant; if any that have leiſure and abilities would go about it; and who cannot, in my opinion, imploy their Time and Talents about a Work that would do the Church of *England* a more Subſtantial Service; which thereby would appear to be the ſame in Doctrine with that ancient famous Church, which was undoubtedly of the ſame Faith with the *Britiſh Church*, in thoſe Ages; the ſo much lamented loſs of whoſe ancient *Records*, is in a good meaſure repaired by thoſe of a Contemporary *Weſtern Church*, and to which we have reaſon to believe

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lieve a *Britiſh* Princeſs was a great Benefactor. *Badda*, Queen to *Recaredus*, the Firſt Orthodox *Gothick* King of *Spain*, and who, under God, might probably be the great Inſtrument of her Husband's Converſion to the true *Chriſtian Faith*; and who for that reaſon did, together with her Husband, ſubſcribe the *Conſtantinopolitan Creed*, which is before the Third Council of *Toledo*, held in the year 589; being by the *Spaniſh Hiſtorians*, ſaid to be the Daughter of the *Britiſh* King *Arthur*; and whoſe Subſcription to that Creed runs thus,

> *I* Badda, *the glorious Queen, do with my hand, from my whole heart, ſubſcribe this Faith, which I have believed and received.*

And which ſhe muſt have done from her Childhood, if ſhe was King *Arthur*'s Daughter; the *Arian* Hereſy having never had any footing in *Britain* that we read of.

FINIS.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

Pope's Behaviour

TOWARDS

PORTUGAL,

From the Year 1641, untill the Year 1666; with reference to his granting of Bishops to that Kingdom, and to its Conquests.

By *Michael Geddes*, LL. D. and *Chancellour* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

Moris est Sedis Apostolicæ, eum Regem appellare, qui Regnum tenet. Pope *Pius* 2.

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THE

PREFACE.

TWO *Things, of no ſmall Uſe, are very Remarkable in this Hiſtory; the one is, how great an* Unhappineſs *it is to any* Nation, *to be* Subject *to the* Pope: *And the other is, That the* Papacy, *which boldly tells the World ſhe is directed immediately by the* Spirit of God *in her* Government *of the* Church; *and which Cant is believed by many People; is much rather directed in it, by the Spirit of* Machiavel, *or by the ſame Spirit, which the Governments of the World, that have the leaſt Regard to Religion in all that they do, are governed by:* Earthly Hopes, and Fears, *and* Carnal Affections, *with reference to its own Temporal Security and Advancement, having been viſibly the Springs of all the Motions of the* Papacy *in this Affair, in which Religion was ſo much concerned.*

Neither ought the Materials of this Hiſtory, having been collected chiefly out of Portugueſe *Writers, be any Prejudice to its Credit: The Veneration the* Portugueſes *have for the* Roman See, *being ſo*

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great, that this long ill Usage of them by the Popes, was not, so far as I have seen, able to draw one hard Word from them, neither against the Papacy, *nor against the* Persons *of the* Popes, *by whom they were so ill treated: And tho' one would have thought, that it might have been enough to provoke them to have thrown off a Yoke which lay so heavy upon their Necks, since its Bonds may so easily be discover'd not to have any true Strength in them; as the* Venetians *were ready to have done, upon a much shorter Provocation; yet the Reverence the* Portugueses *are possess'd with for the* Roman Chair, *is so profound, and enchanting; that as it made one of their Kings prefer the Title,* of the Pope's most humble Servant, *to all the glorious Religious Titles which were offered him; so that whole Nation is reduced by it to an incredible Tameness under all the Wrongs and* Oppressions, *which she daily suffers under that Proud and Tyrannical Superiour. So that of the Two, I do really believe, that the* Portugueses *have been partial for the Popes in the* Relation *of this* Affair; *or at least have put the most favourable Constructions upon all that they did in it; rather than that they have done the contrary.*

However, I have endeavoured to set that whole Transaction in as true a Light as I could find for it; and having done that, I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether there be not something of a Sorcery *in* Popery; *and whether any thing of the* Direction of the Spirit of God *does appear to have been in the Popes managery of this great Religious Affair; which was kept by them so long upon the Stage, partly out of* Fear *or* Affection *for the* Spaniard, *but chiefly for to have got to themselves the* Nomination

on

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on of the Biſhops in Portugal, and in all its Plantations: To which Power, (tho' they have never exerciſed it,) as the Popes do ſtill pretend to have the Original Right, ſo they are always graſping after that Power, when they have any Hopes of being able to obtain it.

And as nothing can be more abſurd, than the Papal Champions concluding that the Church has a Supream and uncontroulable Governour ſet over her on Earth by Chriſt, becauſe it would be convenient for Her to have ſuch an one: For with better Logick they might conclude from the ſame Topick, that that Supream Governour is always call'd to that Office by an audible Voice from Heaven, and is able to work Miracles to convince all Gainſayers: So that ſuch an Headſhip, as it is lodged in the Biſhop of Rome, has great Inconveniencies attending it, will be manifeſt to all that ſhall read the following Hiſtory. And tho' I will not ſay, but that ſuch an Headſhip, if it were always lodg'd in Perſons of ſuch Heavenly Minds, as made the Advancement of God's Honour, and the Edification and Salvation of Souls, their only Care, would be of great Benefit to the Church, and to the whole World; ſo on the contrary, that Headſhip, as it has been lodg'd for a Thouſand Years, by Reaſon of that covetous, ambitious, cruel, fraudulent, and turbulent Spirit, which ſeems to be entail'd on the Roman Chair, is by univerſal Experience known to have been the Bane of all true Religion, and the great Nuiſance to the whole Chriſtian Church: So that had the Papacy nothing to ſupport its great Power, but the Conveniencies which it yieldeth to the Church of God, and to Chriſtendom, it muſt quickly tumble down, to the Joy of all, ex-

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cept the Demetrius's, *who have their Wealth by its either fleecing, or flaying of its Sheep, in all Parts, as they can be brought to bear it; and which is born by* Portugal *with a Tameness that will always keep Her Poor.*

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

Pope's Behaviour

TOWARDS

PORTUGAL, &c.

THE Source of the Subject Matter of this Tract, being in the different Pretenſions of the Progeny of *Don Emanuel*, to the Crown of *Portugal*; it cannot be thoroughly underſtood, without looking back as far as the Death of that King, and taking a tranſient View of the *Royal Succeſſion* from that Time.

Don Emanuel, The wiſeſt and moſt proſperous King that ever wore the Crown of *Portugal*; among his other Felicitys, was

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blessed with a numerous Issue. His Eldest Son *Don John the Third* succeeded him in the Throne, and he dying young, left only one Child, named *Sebastian*; and *Don Sebastian* being slain in a Battel in *Africk*, before he was married, the Crown, by his Death, went to his Uncle the Cardinal *Don Henry*; who was Second Son to *Don Emanuel*: And *Don Henry* having never married neither, tho' he had Thoughts of doing it, after he was King, notwithstanding his being a Cardinal Priest, and at that time above Seventy years of Age; he was, during the whole Time of his short Reign, extreamly perplexed with the Claims which were put in to succeed him by divers Princes.

The *First*, and strongest of those Pretenders, was, *Philip the Second* King of *Spain*, as Son and Heir to the Empress *Donna Isabella*, the Eldest Daughter of King *Emanuel*.

The *Second*, was *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, as Son and Heir to the Infanta *Donna Beatrix*, the Second Daughter of the same King.

The *Third*, was *Don Antonio*; Prior *de Crato*, as Son and Heir to the Infante *Don Lewis* the Third Son of *King Emanuel*.

The *Fourth*, was *Raynucio* Prince of *Parma*, as Son and Heir to *Donna Maria*, the Eldest Daughter of the Infante *Don Edward*, the Fourth Son of King *Emanuel*.

The

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The *Fifth*, was *Donna Catherina*, Second Daughter to the Infante *Don Edward*, who was married to the Duke of *Braganza*.

A remote Title was alſo trump'd up by *Katherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, for no other Reaſon, that I can perceive, but only to give ſome luſtre to her Blood, which, on her Father's ſide, was the baſeſt that had ever run in the Veins of any Queen of *France* before.

And the Pope, who will be ſtill fiſhing for himſelf in all troubled waters, did ſtart a Title that was yet more fantaſtical; which was his being Heir to a King, as he was Cardinal.

The old King being vehemently ſollicited, by all theſe Pretenders, to be declared by him his Succeſſor; he ſlighted the Pope's, the Queen of *France*'s, and the Duke of *Savoy*'s Claims, as altogether groundleſs; and tho' the Prince of *Parma*, in the Lineal Deſcent, was the undoubted Heir to the Crown after the Death of the King, who was his Grand-Uncle; yet that Prince's claim was but little regarded; there being a Law in *Portugal* called the Law of *Lamego*, whereby *all Foreigners are excluded from the Crown, tho' otherwiſe the right Heirs to it.*

The great ſtruggle came therefore at laſt, to be betwixt *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, and *Antonio*,

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who being extreamly beloved by the People of *Portugal*, would not withdraw his Claim, (tho' it was rejected by the King with Indignation for his being a Baſtard;) pretending to be able to prove that his Father was married to his Mother, or if he could not prove that, yet his Friends, who were the People, ſaid that ought to be no Bar to him, no more than it was to the Victorious *Don John* the Firſt, the Founder of the preſent Royal Family of *Portugal*: And Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, when he found he ſhould make nothing of his own Claim, did promote that of *Don Antonio*'s whoſe Intereſt was eſpouſed by the Pope's Nuncio in *Portugal* with great Warmth: For that politick Pope judging the *Spaniſh* Crown to be too ſtrong and formidable already, was very unwilling to have it made ſtronger, by the Acceſſion of *Portugal* to it.

The Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, tho' the King offered her and her Family, great Advantages in the Name of *Philip*, if ſhe would reſign her Title to that King, as the Prince of *Parma* was ſaid to have done; ſhe would not hear of doing it upon any Terms whatſoever; but was continually ſolliciting the King her Uncle, to do her Juſtice.

The King being in a great Perplexity what to do, called the *Cortes* to ſettle the Succeſſion; and in which Fifteen Nobles, and

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and Two and twenty Men of Letters, were named to be Judges; and Five Nobles out of those Fifteen, were appointed to be Governours of the Kingdom, if the King happened to die before a Sentence was passed, and who were to see the Sentence that should be passed, executed; and thereupon an Oath was taken by the *Three Estates* of the Realm, to stand to the Decision of those Judges; or, in case they did not agree, to yield Obedience to the Sentence of the Five Governours; and which Oath both the Duke of *Braganza*, and *Antonio* were compelled by the King to take; but when *Philip* was required to do it, who had a strong Army quartered on the Frontiers of *Portugal*; he made Answer, he would not take it; *nor would he allow his Right, which was so clear, to be put in Judgment.* And King *Henry* dying soon after, the *Spanish* Army under the command of the Duke of *Alva*, march'd forthwith into *Portugal*, and having quickly defeated *Don Antonio*, and driven him out of *Lisbon*, where he had been proclaimed King by the People, *Philip* was immediately proclaimed King there, and in all other Places of the Kingdom; and having the Five Governours under his Power, he was by a Majority of them, declared to be the lawful Heir of the Crown; which Declaration was soon after confirmed by the *Cortes* of the

the whole Kingdom, called by *Philip* at *Tomar*, where he was acknowledged, and sworn to, as the lawful King of the Realm; which being a Foreigner, it is certain, he was not; nor could he have been, had he been a Native; the Daughter of the Brother, which the Dutchess of *Braganza* was, being both by the Laws of that Kingdom, and by the Law of Representation, to be preferred to the Son of the Sister: For as, had that Dutchess's Father, the Infante *Don Edward*, and that King's Mother, been both alive when their Brother *Don Henry* died, the King's Mother could not have pretended to the Crown, before her Brother *Don Edward*; so neither ought *Philip* as her Heir to pretend to it, before the Dutchess of *Braganza*, who was Daughter, and by Law Heir to the Infante *Don Edward*: And so much King *Philip* was told to his Face, by a Friar that preached before him in the Royal Chappel, who having taken those Words of our Saviour for his Text, *Philip, he that seeth me, seeth my Father*, did look the King full in the Face when he spoke the Word *Philip*, and having then turned about to the Dutchess of *Braganza*, who was likewise in the Chappel, he added, *he that seeth me, seeth my Father*; plainly intimating that the Dutchess being in her Father's place, had all the same Rights which her Father would have had, if he were alive.

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By this, and its being universally reported and believed among the *Portugueses*, that King *Sebastian* was still alive, and was ready to return to his Kingdom; and by Twenty things more; *Philip* could not but see, that, in their Hearts, the *Portugueses* were much averse to his being their King; and knowing *Don Bartholomew Dos Martyries*, Archbishop of *Braga*, the most celebrated Man in all *Spain* or *Portugal* at that Time, for Piety, Learning, and Firmness, to be a great Friend of *Don Antonio*, to whom he had been Tutor; he did plainly trick that great Prelate, out of an Ability to do his Pupil any Service, unless it were with his Prayers: For whereas this Archbishop, had for several years, tired both the Court of *Portugal*, and that of *Rome*, with repeated vehement Petitions for Leave to resign his Archbishoprick, that he might return to the beloved Mortifications of his Order, which was the *Dominican*; King *Philip*, when he made that Petition to him, and which the King knew he would make of Course, when he came to take his Leave of him after the *Cortes* was over, did not only grant him that his Petition at the first Word, but got him before they parted, to write to the Pope for his leave to do it; which that Prelate having done, the King took Care by his Ambassador at *Rome*, to procure it for him, tho' it was generally believed,

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ved, that the Archbiſhop himſelf, and all his Friends, employed their whole Intereſt to have hindred it: For he was ſo far from retiring to his Monaſtry, as was expected, after he had made his Reſignation to the King, that having flung from Court in a great Diſcontent, he immediately began a Viſitation of his whole Dioceſs; and which he maintained he had Authority to Viſit, notwithſtanding the Reſignation he had made, untill ſuch time as it was accepted by the Pope: And afterwards when this matter and ſome Rents which had become due betwixt the Time when he reſigned to the King and the Diſpatch of the Pope's Approbation, came to be warmly diſputed; by his angry and waſpiſh Behaviour in that Conteſt, and, during his whole Life, towards his Firſt and Second Succeſſors, in whoſe Dioceſs he lived and died, he plainly diſcovered how highly diſpleaſed he was with himſelf, for having reſigned his Archbiſhoprick, and with all that had any ways concurred to it, or that reaped any profit by it; giving the World thereby too much Cauſe to think, that all his former vehement Petitions for leave to reſign, had but little of ſincerity in them.

But, tho' by this Trick the King had diſarmed the moſt formidable Enemy he had in *Portugal*; yet being ſenſible, that if he did not

not bring the *Portugueſes* to be better affected to him and his Government, than they were at preſent; that he muſt either be at the great Charge of maintaining a conſiderable *Spaniſh* Army ſtill in *Portugal*, or muſt quickly loſe that Kingdom again; to win the Hearts of the *Portugueſes*, he granted them all the Advantage they deſired; having promiſed and ſworn to obſerve the following Articles.

Firſt, To conſerve to that Crown, all its Prerogatives, and Stiles, the Coynage, the Royal Palace, and all the Offices uſed in it by its Natural Princes; and that the King being in *Portugal* ſhould be ſerved by none but Natives.

Secondly, That no Foreigner ſhould be capable of any Office, or Dignity, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, nor of any Military Commands, nor of any Title of Honour, Penſions, or Grants, nor of having the Liberty of trading to any of the *Portugueſe* Plantations.

Thirdly, That the Viceroy of the Kingdom ſhould be always one of the Royal Family.

Fourthly, That where-ever the King was; a certain Number of *Portugueſes* ſhould aſſiſt, with the Title of the *Council of Portugal*, and thro' whoſe Hands only all Diſpatches ſhould paſs, and which ſhould be all written in the *Portugueſe* Tongue; and that *Portugueſes*

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gueſes as well as *Caſtillians*, ſhould be admitted to Offices in the Palace.

Fifthly, That the *Cortes* ſhould not be aſſembled out of the Kingdom; and that all the Publick Affairs ſhould be Tranſacted in that Aſſembly.

Sixthly, That the King ſhould obtain no Bulls from the Pope, to receive the Thirds, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Subſidys.

Seventhly, That the dry Ports betwixt the Two Kingdoms, ſhould be opened, and the Merchants be allowed to trade without paying any Duties.

Eighthly, That the King ſhould reſide in *Portugal*, as much as he could poſſibly; and that the Prince ſhould be bred up in it, to beget in him an Affection for the *Portugueſes*.

Laſtly, In Caſe the King, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhould violate the foreſaid Articles, it ſhould be lawful for the Three Eſtates of the Kingdom, to withdraw their Allegiance from him.

With theſe Articles, obſerved pretty well as to the Main, *Portugal* continued quiet, tho' ſtill much diſcontented, under the Crown of *Spain*, from the Year 1580, untill the Year 1640: When *Spain* being much weakned, by the long expenſive War ſhe was engaged in with *France*, and by the ſudden revolt of *Catalonia*; ſome of the *Portugueſe* Nobles, now that *Spain* had her Hands

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Hands ſo full, judged that to be a proper Time for *Portugal* to ſhake off her Yoke; and they being come to a Reſolution to offer the Crown to the Duke of *Braganza*; ſome of the ableſt of that Duke's Friends were diſpatched to him, with great Secrecy, to try if they could perſwade him to accept of it: That Duke, who was no great Genius, was, with much Difficulty, prevailed with to take the Crown; and it was believed, he would never have ventured to have done it; if he had not been puſhed on by the Ambition of *Don Luiſa* his Wife; who was a Woman of a high Spirit: And who is reported to have anſwered all her Husband's timerous Objections, with telling him, *that it was better to be a* King *one Day, than a* Duke *for the longeſt Life.* That Duke's conſent having been obtained, he was proclaimed King of *Portugal* in *Lisbon*, by a Junta of the Nobles, on the Firſt of *December*, in the Year 1640, and ſoon after in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, and in all the *Portugueſe* Foreign Plantations in *Africa*, and in the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt-Indies*, as ſoon as they had the News of his Acclamation in *Portugal*; the Garriſons of *Tangier* and *Ceuta*, being the only Places, belonging to that Crown, that ſtood firm to the *Spaniards*.

Here I cannot but reflect on the Impoliticknes of the Three *Philips* of *Spain*, who were

were Kings of *Portugal*; for their having suffered the Family of *Braganza*, not only to remain in that Kingdom, but to be every day more powerful in it: For had they transplanted that Family either into *Italy*, *Flanders*, or the *Spanish Indies*, and given them there greater Estates, and higher Titles than they had in *Portugal*, the Crown of *Spain*; in all likelihood, had never lost that Kingdom.

For, had not the Family of *Braganza* remain'd in *Portugal*, which besides its having a true Title to the Crown in it, was so much Superiour to all the rest of the Nobles of that Kingdom, for Estate and Grandeur; the Nobles, tho' they had been left to their Liberty, would never have agreed in a Person to be set over them as their King: And that this was not foreseen by the *Spaniards*, who are undoubtedly a wise and considerate People, I do reckon to be one of the greatest Prodigies of Impoliticknes that we meet with in History. But to return,

The Duke of *Braganza* having been proclaim'd King by the whole Realm of *Portugal*, and with the least Blood that ever was spilt in so great a Revolution, there not having been above Three Persons kill'd in it, tho' many Thousands were afterwards to maintain it; the new King made all the Haste possible to strengthen himself by foreign

reign Alliances; and having immediately diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*; and to all the other Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he was, to his great Encouragement, without any Difficulty, acknowledg'd King of *Portugal* by all thoſe Princes and States.

But there was one Prince, whoſe acknowledging of him, by reaſon of the profound Veneration which the *Portugueſes* have for his Authority, would have done him more Good than all the reſt, except *France*; Which was the Pope: But how that could be obtain'd, puzzled them extreamly; being ſenſible that the Pope could not do it without inſenſing the *Spaniard*, who is ſtrong in *Italy*.

But this Matter, which was one of the chiefeſt of their Cares, being long under Deliberation; they came to a Reſolution at laſt, to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Rome*, according to Cuſtom, to acquaint the Pope with their new King's Acceſſion to the Crown, and to yield his Obedience to that See; and farther, to Supplicate the Pope to confirm ſome Eccleſiaſticks in the Biſhopricks to which they had been nominated by their new King; hoping by that ſide Wind, if it could not be done otherwiſe, to have brought the Pope to acknowledge his Royal Authority; and to the ſending of this Em-

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baſſy the *Portugueſes* were much encourag'd by the *French*, who aſſur'd him the Pope, at that time *Urban the Eighth*, was no Friend to the *Spaniard*, and it was very true that in his Heart he was not; and the *French* did further promiſe to employ all their Power at *Rome* to obtain an Audience of the Pope for their Ambaſſador.

This Affair having been thus fixed, the King named *Don Michael de Portugal*, Biſhop of *Lamego*, for his Ambaſſador at *Rome*; he was a Prelate of a very noble Family, being Brother to the Conde *Vimioſa*, and one of a lofty Genius; but being young, *Pantalion Roiz Pereira*, an Inquiſitor, a Man of great Gravity and Dexterity in Buſineſs, was made Agent; and *Rodrigo Roiz de Lemos*, a Judge, who was an able Lawyer, was made Secretary of the Embaſſy.

The Ambaſſador, having receiv'd his Diſpatches, embark'd at *Lisbon* on the Fourteenth of *April* 1641, and being to take *France* in his Way, to receive his laſt Inſtructions from that Court; he arriv'd at *Paris* in Thirteen Days, and was very kindly receiv'd there, and promis'd all the aſſiſtance at *Rome* the Crown of *France* could give him; Orders were likewiſe ſent to the Ambaſſador of *France*, at that Court, to entertain him in his Houſe as an Ambaſſador, untill he had a publick Audience of the Pope:

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Pope: On the Twentieth of *October* the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador embarked at *Toulon*, and having had a ſhort Paſſage to *Civita Vecchia*, he advis'd the Ambaſſador of *France* of his being arriv'd there.

Pope *Urban*, when he heard of an Ambaſſador from *Portugal* being at his Gates, was extreamly perplex'd: For the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* had never on any Occaſion, beſides that of chooſing a new Pope, exerted their whole Strength and Intereſt in *Rome*, with more Vigour than they did on this: The Ambaſſador of *France* talk'd high, of what his Maſter would do, if the Biſhop of *Lamego* were not ſuffer'd to come to *Rome*, and had not an Audience given him as the Ambaſſador of the King of *Portugal*; and the Pope, who was, with his whole Family, intirely in the Intereſt of *France*, would in this Matter gladly have gratifyed both that Crown, and his own Malice againſt *Spain*, to which as he never was a Friend, ſo he was at this time incenſed more againſt Her than ever, having been poſſeſs'd with a Conceit of the *Conde Duque de Olivares* having employ'd one to give him Poiſon; and tho' that did appear afterwards to have been a Scandal thrown unjuſtly on that great Miniſter, yet the Pope, whoſe Life was very dear to himſelf, would never be undeceived. The *Spaniards* who were not ignorant of the

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Pope's ſtanding thus ill affected to them, and knowing no other way how to prevent his giving the Audience of an Ambaſſador to the Biſhop of *Lamego*, but by working upon his Fears; *Don John Chamyceiro* their Ambaſſador at *Rome*, was expreſly commanded, if he ſaw there was any Occaſion for it, to let the Pope know, *That if he ſhould own the Title to the Crown of* Portugal *to be in the Duke of* Braganza; *and which he muſt do, if he received one ſent to him by that Duke as an Ambaſſador, that his Maſter would upon it immediately recall his Ambaſſador from* Rome, *and ſend the Nuncio out of* Spain; *and would ſequeſter all Revenues which belonged to the* Roman See *within his Dominions, and reſerve them for the next Pope, who would do him Juſtice*: And this threatning Meſſage of *Spain*'s, having been induſtriouſly ſpread over *Rome*, the Pope in great perplexity told the two Ambaſſadors, that he would communicate this Affair of *Portugal* to ſome of the Cardinals, and having heard their Opinion of it, would do what ſhould be judged to be juſt, and moſt convenient; and accordingly he called to him his two Nephews, the Cardinals *Pamphilio*, *Sacchetti*, *Bichi*, *Bentivolio*, and ſome others, on whoſe Judgment and Fidelity he thought he might depend; and having laid that Affair before them, he required their Advice in it:

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The Cardinal *Sacchetti*, who was in the *French* Intereſt, made a long Harangue, to perſwade the Pope, that he could neither in Juſtice nor Policy deny an Audience to the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*; the chief Argument he uſed was, that no Pope, in any ſuch caſe, had ever examined in whom the Right to the Crown was, but had ſtill treated the Perſon that was in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, however he came by it, as the King of it; and by ſeveral Inſtances which he produced in *Germany*, *Spain*, *Naples*, and in other Kingdoms, he demonſtrated that to have been the conſtant Practice of the *Roman See*, and which the *Council of Trent* had wiſely taken Care to have continued; knowing that if the Pope ſhould depart from it, he could not avoid involving himſelf and his Chair in many dangerous Difficulties: And in this *Sacchetti* was ſeconded by the Cardinal *Bichi*. The Cardinal *Pamphilio*, who had been long Nuncio in *Spain* was of another mind; and by him the granting of an Audience of an Ambaſſador to the Biſhop of *Lamego*, was repreſented, as a thing that was not juſt, and which conſidering how it would be reſented by the *Spaniards*, could not be done without very great Danger.

Cardinal *Bentivolio* was for a middle Way, which was, that the Pope ſhould give an Audience to the Biſhop of *Lamego*, with

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all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of an Ambaſſador; but that before he did it, he ſhould make a publick Proteſtation, that it ſhould no ways affect the Title of the Crown of *Portugal*, which ſhould remain in the State it was in before, or as if that had never been done: The two Nephews were both enough addicted to *France*, but they were ſo terrified with the Threats of the *Spaniards*, that they durſt not adviſe their Uncle to make ſo bold a ſtep; and ſo did determine, that the Biſhop of *Lamego* ſhould be ſuffered to come privately to *Rome*; but that he ſhould not be received as an Ambaſſador; apprehending, that the *French*, tho' they talked big, were not ſo likely to execute their Threatnings, if that Audience were denyed, as the *Spaniards*, who were much more concerned in Intereſt, would be, if it were granted: And accordingly the Cardinal *Antonio Barbarino* was ordered by his Uncle the Pope, to ſecure the Road to *Rome* to the Biſhop of *Lamego*; and the *French* Ambaſſador fearing leſt the *Spaniards* might have arreſted that Biſhop by the way, and carried him Priſoner into the Kingdom of *Naples*, (which it is ſaid was deſigned,) ſent a Guard of his own Servants to attend him, and to whom ſeveral *Portugueſes* and *Catalonians*, who lived in *Rome*, voluntarily joined themſelves.

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With this Guard the Biſhop of *Lamego* came ſafe to *Rome*, in great Pomp; and having alighted at the Palace of the *French* Ambaſſador, he was received by him with all the Ceremonies any Ambaſſador can lay claim to; and was, during his whole ſtay at *Rome*, treated by him in the ſame manner, and by all the Cardinals of the *French* Faction: The Ambaſſador of *France* was earneſt with him to have ſtayed at his Houſe, untill the Buſineſs of his Audience was ſettled; but the Biſhop would not hear of that; but, having taken a Palace for himſelf, he went and lived in it, as long as he ſtayed at *Rome*.

The *Spaniards*, who had ſet their whole ſtrength to hinder that Biſhop from being received as an Ambaſſador; apprehending that *Don John Chamyceiro* had neither Quality, nor Spirit enough to contend with that *Portugueſe*, who had both in a high Degree; they recalled him, and ſent the Marqueſs *de los Veles*, who was a Grandee, and a Man of great State and Heat, to ſucceed him in that Employment at *Rome*.

All Addreſſes concerning the Affair of *Portugal*, having been ordered by the Pope to be made to his Nephew the Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarino*; *Pantalion de Roiz* as Agent of *Portugal* waited upon him, the Ambaſſador having been ſtrictly forbid by the Pope to come near the Court in Publick,

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before some Resolution was taken concerning his Character; the Cardinal *Francisco*, told the Agent, the second Time he waited on him, that he wanted to see the Duke of *Braganza*'s Title to the Crown of *Portugal*; the Agent answered, his Master King *John* had sent an Embassy to the Apostolical See, to give Obedience to the chief Pontiff, and not to have from him any Decision or Confirmation of his Title to his Crown, which he held of none but God; however to satisfy that Cardinal's private Curiosity, he promis'd to put a clear Account of that Right into his Hands: And accordingly, the next day, he deliver'd him a Paper, in which he demonstrated the true Title to the Crown of *Portugal* to have been in the House of *Braganza*, ever since the Death of King *Henry* the Cardinal: Upon that Memorial the Agent was so vain as to hope that a Resolution might speedily have been taken to grant the Ambassador of *Portugal* an Audience; but he quickly found he was mistaken, for at his own next Audience the Cardinal *Francisco* told him, 'His Holiness saw 'more of Appearances, than of Obedience 'or Respect to the Holy See, in this *Portu-* '*guese* Embassy; the Retention of the Chap- 'pels, which had been taken from the 'Church in *Portugal*, being still persisted in, 'to the violation of the Ecclesiastical Im- 'munities;

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'munities; and the pernicious Example of 'the Expulsion of the Bishop of *Nicastro*, the 'Apostolical Collector, on that Account, 'contumaciously approv'd of: The impri-'soning of *Don Sebastian de Mattos*, Arch-'bishop of *Braga*, was likewise a thing, 'which, the Pope said, gave great Scandal 'to the whole Christian Common-wealth; 'and for that Reason, it was absolutely ne-'cessary that Prelate should be set at Li-'berty, and restor'd to his Dignities; or 'should at least be remitted in Custody to '*Rome*, where the Pope, who was his law-'ful Superiour, would judge his Cause; 'which being done, and the Chappels all 'restor'd, might, the Cardinal said, possibly 'dispose his Holiness to receive their Em-'bassy.

'To all this the Agent made answer, 'That the Ambassador's Commission ex-'tending only to the yielding of Obedience 'to the chief Pontiff, it was not reasonable 'to clog it with Matters about which he 'could have no Powers, nor Instruction; 'and that the Pope might very safely trust 'to the Catholick Piety of the King so far, 'as not to doubt if he sent an Apostolical 'Nuncio to *Portugal*, as was the Custom on 'all such Occasions, of having the Difference 'about the Chappels, which had continued 'ever since the year 1604, ended to his sa-'tisfaction;

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'tisfaction; notwithstanding the Apostolical 'Collector, who had been expell'd in the 'Time of the *Spaniard*, had, by the publick 'Violation of a Law of the Kingdom which 'had been made long before, given an uni-'versal Scandal: And as to the Archbishop 'of *Braga*, the Agent said, the King had 'not exceeded the Permissions of the Canon 'Law in imprisoning him, nor would he 'if he had put him to Death; that Prelate 'having been convicted of High-Treason: 'However, that none of his Actions might 'be so much as suspected, if the Pope would 'name some Persons at *Lisbon* to review 'that Archbishop's Case, the King would 'order his whole Process, to be laid before 'them; and which could not be sent to '*Rome* without being in danger of falling 'into the Hands of the *Spaniards*.

Here, I think, it will not be improper to present the Reader in short with the State of that Archbishop's Case, which made so great a Noise at *Rome*: This Prelate, who was a Man of great Wisdom, very Active, and of an intrepid Spirit, being known to be entirely in the Interest of the *Spaniard*, who had conferred great Honours upon him and his Family, it was once resolved, in the *Junta* of the Nobles, to have dispatched him out of the Way, in the first Heat of the Revolution; but having afterwards considered that

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that would bring a Scandal upon that Enterprize, and not despairing of being able to gain him, all Thoughts of it were laid aside, and accordingly upon the Acclamation, he was named by them one of the Governours of the Kingdom, untill the Duke of *Braganza* arrived at *Lisbon*; neither could the new King have denyed him any thing, that he would have desired: But either his Affection for the *Spaniard*, or his Fear that they would quickly recover *Portugal* again, being too strong to be removed, he presently left the Court, and retired to a Villa not far from *Lisbon*; where by his Dexterity he had in a short Time engaged the *chief Inquisitor*, the *Bishop of Martyria*, the Marquis *de Villareal* and his Son the Duke of *Caminha*, and his own Nephew the *Conde de Armanar*, and several other Nobles, and some rich Merchants, in a Conspiracy to call back the *Spanish* Government; the Story wherewith he brought them all into the Plot, was, *That* Portugal *would speedily be ruined, if she did not submit herself to the* Spaniard; *there being neither Council, Strength, nor Union, in the new Government, which had been tumultuously erected, to withstand the force of* Spain; *which was formidable to all the World, both by Sea, and Land: And that* Portugal *being Conquered by* Spain, *as she must necessarily be in a short Time, if she did not prevent*

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vent it by a voluntary Submiſſion, would be reduced to the miſerable State of a conquered Province. But this Conſpiracy having been diſcovered, when it was ready to have been executed, the forenamed Prelates, Nobles, and Merchants were all apprehended, and having been all plainly convicted of high Treaſon, the Marquiſs *de Villareal*, his Son the Duke of *Caminha*, the *Conde de Armanar*, and *Don Auguſtine Manoel*, loſt their Heads for it, on the ſame Day, upon a Scaffold in the *Rocio* of *Lisbon*; and the *Inquiſitor General*, the Archbiſhop of *Braga*, and the Biſhop of *Matyria*, were all made cloſe Priſoners; the Firſt, upon his Submiſſion, was, after ſome Years, ſet at Liberty, and reſtored to all his Places; but the Second dièd in cloſe Durance, and the Third, under a Confinement in a Monaſtery: This was truly the Caſe of that Archbiſhop, with whoſe Confinement, the Pope ſaid, the whole Chriſtian Common-wealth was very much ſcandalized. But to return,

The Cardinal *Franciſco* not being ſatisfied with what the *Portugueſe* Agent had offer'd, grew weary of giving him Audience, and by his ſlighting behaviour gave him to underſtand as much; but the Biſhop of *Lamego*, being treated by all the Cardinals, and Nobles at *Rome*, who were of the *French* Faction, as an Ambaſſador, the Marquiſs *De Los Veles*

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Veles fearing leſt e'er long the Pope might do ſo to, he reſolved to rid *Rome* of that Biſhop; and having order'd one of his own Out-Houſes to be ſet on Fire, he gave out it had been done by ſome *Portugueſes*; and, to prevent any more ſuch Inſolencies, he called ſome Officers and Soldiers to him out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, among whom there came ſeveral Banditi; by which means that Marquiſs having made himſelf ſtrong in *Rome*, he determin'd to meet the Biſhop of *Lamego* in the Streets, and having made a Fray with him, either to kill him, or to apprehend him and ſend him a Priſoner to *Naples*, as the Marquiſs *de Caſtel Rodrigo* had done not long before at *Rome*, with the Prince of *Sans*, on Suſpicion of his being in a Correſpondence with *France*; and which Prince was put to Death at *Naples* a few Days after he was ſent thither. The Pope having had Notice of the Marquiſs's Intention, did weaken him very much by a Proclamation commanding all Vagabonds upon a ſevere Penalty to leave *Rome*, and at the ſame Time ſent an Order to the Biſhop of *Lamego* not to go abroad with any armed Men, for he would take care that he ſhould not be inſulted: With which Order that Biſhop having complied, his Servants one Day as he was ready to go to the Ambaſſador of *France*, obſerved a Fellow lurking about their Gates, whom they knew

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knew to belong to the Marquiss, and suspecting him to be sent for a Spy, they acquainted their Master with it; but he being a Man not to be daunted, would not put off his Visit he had designed to make; and when he came to the Ambassador of *France's*, having heard more of the Matter, one was sent from thence to the Marquiss's Palace, and who having been there, brought Word that the Marquiss's Coaches were making ready, and besides his own Servants, that there was a great Company of Strangers, armed with Pistols and Carabines; of which the Cardinal *Francisco* having likewise had Notice, he desired the Agent of *Portugal*, who was with him at that Time, to go and perswade the Bishop of *Lamego* not to go abroad that Evening: The Agent having found that Bishop at the Ambassador of *France's*, did all that he was able to have perswaded him to have tarried there all Night; to which he was vehemently urged by the Ambassador: But having been told by the Bishop that Home he would go that Night, tho' he was sure it would cost him his Life, the Ambassador of *France* did both furnish his Servants with Arms, and order a good Company of *French* and *Catalonians* well armed to guard him home; appointing the Gentleman of his Chamber, in whom he had great Confidence, to march

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at their Head. The Biſhop was gone but a little Way, when Word was brought him, that if he went on he would be ſtopped by the Coaches of the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, which were already entered the Street he was to go thro': The Biſhop not being at all daunted, commanded his Coachman to drive on, which he having done, they heard the *Spaniards* before them, calling, *make way there, for the Ambaſſador of* Spain, and who having been anſwered by the *Portugueſes*, with *make way for the Ambaſſador of* Portugal, the Foot-men drew their Swords, and the Coaches, which were drove furiouſly, having run one againſt another, the Guards fired on both Sides; in the Beginning of the Fray the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador leaped out of his Coach, and with a Carabine in his Hand put himſelf at the Head of his Men; the Ambaſſador of *Spain* left his Coach at the ſame time, but having ſtepp'd into a Confectioners Shop, he went through it, and got by a back way to the Palace of the Cardinal *Albernoz*: The Fight had been bloody, if the City Guards had not come in and parted them; on the *Portugueſes* Side, Four were ſhot dead upon the Spot, and among them a Knight of *Malta*, who was a Kinſman of the *French* Ambaſſador's, and ſeveral were wounded: Of the *Spaniards* Eight were ſhot dead, and many more were wounded;

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wounded; and the Harness of the Ambassador of *Portugal*'s Horses having been cut to Pieces, he order'd his Servants when his Coaches were refitted, to come and fetch him from the Ambassador of *France*'s Palace, to which he walked on foot; and having stayed there till his Coaches came, he went home that Night without meeting any Disturbance: The next Morning early he received a Complement from the *Barberina*'s, and was visited the same day by all the Creatures of *France*; and having been informed that the Pope highly resented the Affront, which had been put on his own Authority by the *Spaniards*, he did hope that in Revenge, and to give *Portugal* some Reparation, he would forthwith have granted him an Audience; but the Pope was so far from doing that, that after this quarrel, he deny'd it with more stiffness than it had ever been deny'd before; and the Cardinal *Barbarino* did give the Agent of *Portugal* plainly to understand, that he was grown sick of his Company: Upon that, and the year's being near expiring which he was ordered to wait at *Rome* for an Audience, the Ambassador did let the Pope know, that if he had not an Audience given him by such a Day, he was not to stay any longer for it; to which Message the Pope's Answer, by the Cardinal *Bichi*, was, 'That the Congregation of Cardinals which

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'he had appointed to meet and consult 'about that Affair, were all of Opinion, that 'it was not convenient that he should be 'received as an Ambassador, as well on the 'Account of some late Accidents, as because 'the *State of the Church* being at that time 'in a War with the Duke of *Parma*, it was 'not safe for him to provoke the *Spaniards*, 'who were so powerful at his Gates; but 'that if he desired an Audience of him, as 'the Bishop of *Lamego*, he was ready to 'give him one. The Ambassador told the Cardinal briskly, *That as he was not come to* Rome *as Bishop of* Lamego, *but with a Character of the Ambassador of the King of* Portugal; *so, unless the Pope would give him a Publick Audience as an Ambassador, he could not wait on him at all:* And to let the *Barbarinoes* see that he resented the Treatment he had met with, he left *Rome* without taking any Notice of them.

This expensive Embassy to *Rome* having succeeded so ill, the King resolv'd not to send another, untill he was assur'd it would be receiv'd; and whereas the Bishops both in the Kingdom, and in the Plantations, had died faster than ordinary, after his coming to the Crown; tho' he named some to the Bishopricks as soon as they were vacant, he received all the Rents himself, and employed them to the Uses of the War, with a

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Promise to make them all good to the Bishops, when they should be put in Possession of their Bishopricks, by being recognized by the Pope. And the Sum which came yearly into the Treasury by this way, was so great, that it was believed by many, that the King, whatever he pretended, was not sorry for the Pope's having deny'd to recognize the Bishops which he had named: But whatever politick Refiners may extract from things, I could never see any thing in that Prince's Conduct, that gives the least Colour to such a Suspicion. However it was with the King, they, who had been named by him to Bishopricks, tho' they enjoyed all the Benefits of their former Preferments, and the whole Clergy, were much displeased with this misapplication of the Church Revenues; and to remedy this Evil, the Clergy, having been assembled together, it was agreed, that in their own Names, they should send an Envoy to *Rome*, to supplicate the Pope to recognize the Bishops who had been named to the vacant Bishopricks; and having obtained the King's Leave for it, Doctor *Nicholas Montiro*, Prior of the Collegiate Church of *Cedofeita* and Bishop elect of *Portalegre*, was pitch'd on by them for that Employment: But before the Prior had left *Lisbon*, the News of Pope *Urban*'s death, and of the Cardinal *Pamphilio* having succeeded

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ceeded him, being come thither; the King, now that there was a new Pope, did ſend by the Prior, who was to take *Paris* in his way, a Commiſſion to the Marquiſs *de Niſa*, his Ambaſſador at the Court of *France* at that time, to go his Ambaſſador to the Pope, in caſe the Prior, who was to go before him to *Rome*, found the Pope well diſpoſed to receive him: The Prior having accordingly gone to *Paris*, and ſpent ſome time there; with the other Papers which he had from that Court, he had a Letter from the *French* King to the Cardinal *Bichi*, who was in that King's Intereſt, and was believed to be in great Credit with the Pope; and to which Cardinal, the Marquiſs *de Niſa* did likewiſe ſend a Letter by the Prior, to acquaint him with his being named by the King of *Portugal* to be his Ambaſſador to the Pope.

The Prior when he was come to *Rome*, lodged in the Hoſpital of St. *Antony*, which belongs to the *Portugueſes*; untill a convenient Houſe was provided for him: And that he might loſe no Time, the ſecond Day after he came to *Rome*, he went to wait on the Cardinal *Bichi*, who received him very kindly, and having ſeen the Supplication of the Clergy of *Portugal*, and the *French* King's Letter, which were brought by the Prior; he expreſſed a wonderful Zeal for that Affair, and did aſſure the Prior he would aſſiſt

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him in it to the utmoſt of his Power: But the Prior having waited upon him the next Day, and given him the Marquiſs *de Niſa's* Letter, the Cardinal, tho' he was ſtill civil to him, told him at parting, *That tho' in appearance he was ſent only by the Clergy of* Portugal *to negociate an Eccleſiaſtical Matter; in reality he was come to negociate the grand Affair of the Crown of* Portugal *at* Rome; *and in which, he told him plainly, he could not promiſe that he would meet with any good Succeſs.* That Prior having left the Cardinal, he went much mortify'd, to viſit the reſt of the Cardinals, that were Creatures of *France*; they all gave him good Words and large Promiſes of their Aſſiſtance: The Prior returned Home to St. *Antony's* in the Evening, and found there a Chaplain of Cardinal *Spada's*, who was the Pope's Almoner, with a Meſſage for him, to come next Morning to his Lord, at his Lodgings in the Pope's Palace; which the Prior having done, the Cardinal, after ſome Civilities had paſs'd, asked him, *What was his Buſineſs at* Rome, *and from whom, and to whom, he had brought Letters?* And the Prior having returned ſuch an Anſwer, as he thought convenient, the Cardinal asked him, *Whether he had brought no more Letters, than he had mentioned?* The Prior replyed, *That he had no Letter from the King of* Portugal, *nor no Command from him to wait upon the*

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the Pope; but that he had brought a Letter to the Cardinal Bichi, *from the Marquiſs* de Niſa, *whom the King had named to be his Ambaſſador at* Rome; *and who was at* Paris, *preparing himſelf to come thither with that Character.* And the Prior having begun to expatiate himſelf in the Praiſe of that Marquiſs, he was interrupted by the Cardinal, who told him, *That as he was not indeed fit to treat about ſo great an Affair, ſo neither could he enter upon it, having no Order from the Pope to do it*; on the contrary, *he was expreſly commanded by the Pope, to treat with him about the Supplication of the Clergy of* Portugal, *and not about any thing elſe*; expreſſing at the ſame time a great Compaſſion for the afflicted State of that Church.

The Prior left the Cardinal, and returned home, much diſconſolate; for he perceived plainly, by what he had been told by both the Cardinals he had treated with, that there was nothing to be done at *Rome* for the King's Service: The next Morning he received a Meſſage from the Cardinal *Spada*, to let him know, *That the Pope would give him an Audience that Day*; but withal a Caution, *not to mention any other Affair to the Pope, beſides that of the Clergy's Supplication to him, by whom only he pretended to be ſent to* Rome; *for if he did offer to ſpeak of any thing elſe, he would not be heard:* Upon this Meſſ-

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ſage the Prior went preſently to the Palace, and after a ſhort Stay there, was introduced to the Pope, by a Gentleman of his Bedchamber; the Pope, after the Prior had kiſſed his Foot, and paid him the other cuſtomary Veneration, asked him the ſame Queſtions he had been asked by the Cardinal *Spada*, to which the Prior returned the ſame Anſwers, and having put the Supplication of the Clergy of *Portugal* into the Pope's Hand, he laid before him, the deplorable State the Church of *Portugal* was in for want of Biſhops, and which great Evil, he ſaid, was at preſent attended with many ill Conſequences, but that more and worſe were to be feared, if it was not remedied quickly: The Pope anſwered, *He was ſenſibly touched with the ſad Condition that Church muſt be in for want of ſo many Paſtors; and that as he had a great Eſteem for the Clergy of* Portugal, *whom he knew to be ſingular good Catholicks, by the acquaintance he had with ſeveral of them at* Madrid, *when he was Nuncio there; ſo he doubted not, but that God would direct him how to find a proper and an effectual Remedy for that great Evil they laboured under at preſent*: Upon this Encouragement, the Prior having begun to mention the King's having named an Ambaſſador; the Pope interrupted him, and ſaid, *That was another buſineſs*; and then made a Sign to him to withdraw.

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The Letters of the Clergy of Portugal *to the* Pope.

Moſt Holy Father,

'THE moſt ſerene King *John*, was, '*jure poſt-liminii*, no ſooner reſtor'd 'to his Throne, than he did, among other 'things, ſupplicate the moſt holy *Urban the* '*Eighth*, who was Pope at that Time, after 'the uſual manner to depute Biſhops to the 'vacant Biſhopricks in *Portugal*; which 'mourn'd becauſe the Breaſts of Doctrine, 'from which the Children of the Lord 'Chriſt did uſe to ſuck their Nutriment, 'were dried up; but, to his great Grief, a 'deaf Ear was turn'd to that ſupplication 'at *Rome*.

'We, the remaining Biſhops, do in vain 'labour to ſupply the want of ſo many Bi-'ſhops; things being now come to that 'paſs, that of the Thirteen Epiſcopal Sees 'in *Portugal*, Ten are vacant, and Nine Bi-'ſhops are dead in the Conqueſts.

'This, moſt bleſſed Father, cauſes the 'violated Churches in many Regions to 'mourn, for their being ſo far from their 'Medicines; the *Holy Oyl* being brought to 'ſome of them, with great difficulty, above 'a Hundred Leagues; and ſo far they are

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'oblig'd to go, who take Holy Orders: A-'buses and bad Customs are rampant, and 'the authority and splendor of the Churches 'decrease, and grow daily weaker. Be-'sides, *Portugal* being full of Sea-ports, and 'much frequented by all foreign Nations, 'of different Religions and Rites, we are 'in great Anxiety, lest the People, who 'have been so long from under the Severi-'ty of their Pastors, should contract some 'Contagion; for we know the Manners of 'Heresie, and that its Lips are as a drop-'ping Honey-comb, tho' its End is as bitter 'as Wormwood. But our sollicitude for 'the Eastern Churches, lies the heaviest up-'on us; for those Lands, where a small 'grain of *Mustard seed* was grown up to a '*mighty Tree*, and whose Fruits were ga-'ther'd plentifully by many Nations, for six 'Thousand Leagues, are now almost dried 'up; so that it is to be fear'd that the Bri-'ars of Idolatry may spring up there again, 'and that the Christian Harvest may de-'generate into the Brambles and Thorns 'of Heresie. The Impatience of our Peo-'ple, has hitherto express'd it self in free 'Complaints, of having been deny'd that 'by *Mercy*, which ought to have been 'offer'd them by *Justice*: In the beginning 'they submitted, and being compelled by 'necessity, did require a Remedy; but now

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'after ſo long a time, they are incenſed by 'the Injury with ſtrong Paſſions.

'In all former Ages, the Vicars of Chriſt 'were intent on the Work of bringing the 'Princes of the Earth to receive Paſtors 'from the holy See, and to maintain the 'Liberty and Immunity of the Church; 'but the Work at this time, is, that *Portu-* 'gal may obtain Biſhops from the *Roman* 'Pontiff, and that he would fully and free- 'ly make Uſe of the Power of the Keys; ſo 'that no Succeſſor of St. *Peter*'s, did ever 'ſee a ſtranger, or a juſter Supplication than 'this of ours is: And tho' we have labour'd 'to perſwade the People that this Silence of 'the Holy Apoſtolical See, ought not to be 'imputed to Contempt, but to ſome My- 'ſtery or other, we do now, after Three 'Years are expir'd, in vain go about to co- 'ver Wounds which are ſwell'd ſo high; ſo 'that we are in fear leſt the People imagin- 'ing that they are thrown off by the *great* '*Maſter of the Family*, may give over their 'pious Tears, and juſt Sighs: We did there- 'fore, by the beſt Way that we could think 'of, intend to have laid the dangerous State 'of this Church before *Urban the Eighth*, 'your Predeceſſor, and earneſtly to have 'ſupplicated him, that the Sheep that were 'committed to him by the Lord Chriſt, and 'which coſt the Son of God ſo dear, might

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'not perish in a Wilderness, least the Voice 'of our Brethren's Blood should have cry'd 'against us in the day of the Lord. And the 'having seen not only the Apostolical Gates, 'but Ears also, shut against the Tears and 'Sighs of the *Portugueses* only, of all the 'Nations of the Earth, has caus'd the 'Church of *Portugal* to cry out, with sor-'row, *O all ye that pass by, hearken and see, if 'there be any Sorrow like my Sorrow.* But ha-'ving in the mean time receiv'd the News 'of the most holy *Urban*'s Death, and of 'your Beatitude's happy Exaltation to the 'Pinnacle of the Apostolical Dignity, we 'thank'd God for his having set so great a 'Pastor over his Church, and we rejoic'd 'very much, believing that the great and 'good God had deferred the yielding of 'Comfort to the distress'd Churches of *Por-'tugal*, that he might reserve the Glory of 'giving it to your Holiness.

'Being full of Hopes, we the few Bishops 'who do now attend to the Sacred Govern-'ment of *Portugal*, together with the Chap-'ters of the vacant Sees, being met toge-'ther in Charity and the same Spirit, 'have sent *Nicholas Montiro*, Doctor of 'Laws, and Abbot of the famous Collegiate 'Church of *Cedofeita*, to your Holiness, as 'our Envoy; by whom your Holiness will 'be inform'd of these matters, and of great-

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'er, which were not fit to be committed to 'Writing: We do therefore with Reverence 'and great earneſtneſs beſeech you to give 'Credit to the things, which he, when pro-'ſtrate at your holy Feet, will lay before 'you.

'Moſt holy Father, the Sheep of *Portu-'gal*, which hitherto have been deſpis'd, 'and do ſtray in the Wilderneſs of the 'World, do pine after Food, and there are 'ſcarce any to break Bread to them; and 'tho' the Faith remains unſhaken in the '*Portugueſes*, and their Obedience and Re-'verence for the Apoſtolical See do ſtand 'firm; yet we do fear leſt upon ſo great a 'Want of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Sacrificers, 'our Adverſary the Devil may offer them 'the Cup of *Babylon* which is gilt on the 'outſide; imploring you the chief Paſtor, 'and tranſmitting their repeated Cries to 'you, and being oppreſs'd do flee to you, 'for they cannot be ſatisfied with being fed 'by any other but your Holineſs; knowing 'if they were defended with your Staff, 'they would have no cauſe to fear their be-'ing devour'd by any wild Beaſt: We 'know your holy and Paternal Breaſt; 'ſuffer not the Ambition of Mortals there-'fore to diſturb the Cauſe of God, before 'ſo great Majeſty.

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'By the living God therefore, by your 'Self, by your Majesty, by the Sanctity of 'the holy *Roman* Church, succour our Grief 'in Time, O most holy Father! and suffer 'not the Church of *Portugal*, which is your 'own, to consume away in her nobler parts; 'for upon your Oracle, the Safety of our 'Church and we do sollicitously depend: 'And we do from our Hearts pray that the 'great and good God may long preserve 'your Beatitude to the Church, and out of 'ours may increase your Years.

This Letter is writ in so studied and declamatory a Stile, the common Fault of *Spanish* Writers, that I am not sure of my having hit its true meaning in every Sentence, tho' in the main I believe I have.

The Prior, a few Days after he had his Audience of the Pope, waited on the Cardinal *Spada*, to know whether the Pope was come to any Resolution about his Business; the Cardinal told him, 'It was an Affair 'of great Weight, and that having been 'treated of in *Urban*'s Time, and not ended 'before his Death, nothing could be done 'in it, before the Pope had Information, 'from his Collector in *Portugal*, how mat-'ters stood there; and that tho' by Reason 'of many Accidents, this had never been 'propos'd before, yet it would be now re-'quired, and expected; and that after the

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'Pope had that Information, he would re-
'turn an Anſwer to the Supplication which
'he had brought from the Clergy; and till
'then he was not to expect one.

This new Fetch perfectly ſtunn'd the poor Prior when he heard it; but having recovered himſelf a little, he ſaid, 'That tho'
'he did not doubt of his Holineſs's pure and
'good Intention in this; yet he had great
'Reaſon to doubt, whether he ſhould re-
'ceive a true Information from that Collec-
'tor, who was a Perſon much ſuſpected by
'the Clergy of *Portugal:* The Cardinal anſwered, *The Burden of that Affair would be ſtill on the Pope's Shoulders; neither was it to be doubted, but that he would take Care of it, as he did of all other Matters;* and the Prior having happened to ſay ſomething of the obligation St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors were under to furniſh all Places with Biſhops, and eſpecially Dioceſſes which had had none, in Seven, Eight, Nine, and Ten years; the Cardinal asked him *Where thoſe Dioceſſes were?* and having been told their Names by the Prior, he ſaid, *The King of* Spain *was contented, that the* Portugueſe *Biſhops which were retired into his Dominions, ſhould return to their Churches to take care of them:* To that the Prior made no Anſwer, but told the Cardinal, that if conſtant Fame might be believed, the preſent Pope himſelf whilſt he was a Cardinal

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Cardinal in *Urban*'s Time, did declare, in the first Congregation that was assembled about this Affair of *Portugal*, that tho' an Ambassador from thence ought not then to be received, yet if one were sent after three years, that he ought to have an Audience given him: The Cardinal said nothing to that, not caring it is like to tell the Prior, that the Pope when he set that Time, did reckon that within it *Portugal* would have been reduc'd by *Spain*, and so an end would have been put to this Controversy; but having warned the Prior, to moderate his Equipage, for fear of raising Envy, he dismissed him.

The Prior finding that he lost, rather than got Ground upon the Pope and his Cardinals, as in truth by his Writings, which I have seen, he appears not to have been a Man of Talents equal to his Business, so as to be a Match for the Politick *Italians*, which he had to deal with; he applied himself to the *French* Ambassador, who was a Man of great Parts, as the Ambassadors of that Crown commonly are; and desired him to speak to the Pope, and to press the Affair of *Portugal* hard upon him: That Ambassador who had strict Orders from the Court of *France*, to push on that Business with his whole Strength, having suffered the Prior to try what he was able to do without him,

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him, did, upon his ill Succeſs, undertake it warmly; and at the firſt Audience he had of the Pope, he briskly told him, that his Maſter expected the Crown of *Portugal* ſhould have Juſtice done it at *Rome*, in having its Ambaſſador receiv'd, who was preparing to come thither; and all its vacant Biſhopricks filled, with thoſe the King had named to them: But the Pope, whoſe Affection for *Spain*, mixed with ſome Fears of Her, had made him reſolve to grant neither of thoſe Demands, did fence ſtoutly againſt being brought by the Ambaſſador to grant or deny either of them poſitively; ſo he told the Ambaſſador that he could ſay nothing to either of thoſe two Points, before he had a full Information from his Collector in *Portugal*, where he was told there were Laws which infringed the Liberty of the holy Church, and ſeveral Biſhops were impriſoned, with divers other Abuſes; of all which he muſt know the true State before he could give any Anſwer to the things which he demanded of him: In this put-off the Pope ſems to have had a double Aim; the one was to gain Time, hoping the *Spaniards* might in a little while put an end to this Controverſy by reducing *Portugal* to their Obedience; and the other was to have made Uſe of this Opportunity to have got the Laws he complained of repealed, which were *the impriſoning of Eccleſiaſticks*

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Ecclesiasticks in some disputable Cases; and the Church's not being permitted to have any more Land given her, without the King's Licence; which Laws when they were alledged by the *Venetians* to justify their having made the same, *Bellarmine*'s Answer to them was, that they had been in *Portugal* Time out of Mind, and had probably been made with the Pope's Consent, which the *Venetians* could not pretend to have, being at that time laid under an Interdict by the Pope for having made them: But the Ambassador insisting warmly on having an Answer presently, the Pope was forced at last to promise to appoint a Junta of Cardinals, to consider what could be done as to the Point of the vacant Bishopricks; but for the other Point of the Ambassador, he said, he could not meddle with it, the Title to the Crown of *Portugal* not having been referred to his Arbitriment, by either of the Pretenders to it. And accordingly he named the Cardinals *Capponi*, *Barbarino*, *Ginetti*, *Sacchetti*, *Palletti*, *Panceirola*, *Pamphilio*, and *Cochini*, to make up that Junta, and who having met together, Three Expedients were started by them.

The First was, that the King of *Portugal* should present one, and the King of *Spain* another, to every one of the vacant Bishopricks, and who should both be precogniz'd by the Pope; and this, they said, could be no

no wrong to thoſe who were preſented by the King of *Portugal*, ſeeing that King would not ſuffer thoſe who were preſented by *Spain*, to come to their Dioceſſes which were within his Dominions: And to juſtify this Expedient, they quoted St. *Auſtin* and *Valerius*'s having been both Biſhops of *Hippo* at the ſame time.

The Second was, That King *John* ſhould be named in the Pope's Proviſions; but that he ſhould be ſtiled in them, *the Profeſſor of the Kingdom*.

The Third was, That the Pope ſhould preſent the Perſons to the vacant Biſhopricks who had been named to them by the King of *Portugal*, but that he ſhould preſent them *Motu proprio*, without any mention of either of the Kings.

The Firſt and Second of theſe Expedients, having been rejected by the Prior, the Pope waved them both; but inſiſted on the Third; and did accordingly in a full Conſiſtory, *proprio Motu*, provide the Church of *Guarda* of Don *Peter a Lancaſtro*, that of *Miranda* of Don *Peter Menezes*, and that of *Viſeu* of Don *Emanuel de Saldania*; who were the Perſons that had been named to thoſe Biſhopricks by the King; but without any mention of the King's Name in the Proviſions: And as the King of *Portugal* would never allow of thoſe *Motu proprio* Preſenta-

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tions, ſo the Pope adher'd to them to the laſt; and having declared, that he was ready to preſent to all the reſt of the vacant Biſhopricks, in the ſame manner; after that, he ſtill anſwered all Applications that were made to him, with telling thoſe that made them, *That he had done all that was in his Power to have filled the vacant Biſhopricks in* Portugal *and its Conqueſts; but if the King would not receive the Biſhops whom he had preſented, tho' they were of his own Nomination, he could not help it.* And having thus put the King of *Portugal* in the wrong, as he hoped the World would think; after this, the great Evils and Miſerys which attended ſo great a Want of neceſſary Paſtors in *Portugal*, and in its Conqueſts, were aggravated more at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, than they were before by the *Portugueſes*; and were all charged to the Duke of *Braganza*'s Account, as they ſtiled him; who, they ſaid, would ſuffer the Church of *Portugal* to periſh for want of Paſtors, rather than admit of thoſe who had been preſented by the Pope. And as this was a popular Story, ſo the *Spaniards* made uſe of it, to have prejudiced the *Portugueſes* againſt their new King: However, the Court of *Portugal* was reſolved to venture all, rather than allow the Pope to preſent to their Biſhopricks *Motu proprio*, without naming the King as the Patron of them; and tho'

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tho' ſeveral of the Cardinals declared, that this Promotion ſhould not be made uſe of as a Precedent to the prejudice of any former Right; yet as the Pope himſelf did never make any ſuch Declaration, ſo if he had, the Court of *Portugal* would not have truſted to it, being ſenſible, as they themſelves publiſhed, *how difficult a thing it was ever to recover any thing from the Papacy, which it had been once allowed to aſſume:* And in this perſwaſion the *Portugueſes* were much confirmed, by ſome of the Cardinals having told the Prior, that the King of *Portugal* had no Right to preſent to any Biſhoprick within his Dominions; no ſuch Priviledge having ever been granted to that Crown, by any Pope; nor had it ever been practiſed in *Portugal*, before the King of *Spain* came to be King of her, who had the Priviledge of preſenting to all the Biſhopricks within his Dominions; and there was no Reaſon that *Portugal* now ſhe had thrown that King off, ſhould enjoy any Priviledge that belonged to her, only as ſhe was a part of his Dominions: To this the *Portugueſes* anſwered, That tho' it was true, that their *Portugueſe* Kings being all much devoted to the *Roman* See, had ſtill ſupplicated the Popes to confirm the Biſhops which they had named to them; yet there was no Reaſon, that for uſing that humble Form, they ſhould loſe

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the Patronage of all the Bishopricks within their Dominions: For as that Supplication had been always, in their Kings Intention, tantamount to a Presentation, so it had been constantly the same in Fact; none for whom their King had supplicated, having ever been refused by the Popes; no more than if they had been presented by them to their Bishopricks. Now by this the World may see, as I have elsewhere observed, how dangerous it is for Princes, or Bishops, to be liberal in bestowing Complements upon Popes, who, on many Occasions, have given such a Turn to Complements, as to make them the Foundation of some acknowledged Right or other; tho' nothing was farther from their Thoughts who paid the Popes those humble Civilities, than the acknowledging any such Right by them.

The great Inconveniencies also, which attended Persons being presented to Dignitys and Benefices in *Portugal* by the Pope, *proprio Motu*, were much insisted on on this Occasion: For whereas all the Dignitys and Benefices which are in the Gift of the Bishops, that do fall in one six Months of the Year, are of the Pope's Presentation; so these Dignitys and Benefices were commonly provided of Clerks who did the Church no Service, nor their Patron much Honour: So that were it not for the *Portugueses* sacrificing their Resentments

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Reſentments of the great Inconveniencies which they daily felt, by means of thoſe Preſentations, to the Reverence they had for the Apoſtolical See, thoſe Preſentations would lye under a very great Scandal in the World; moſt of thoſe Dignitys and Beneſices being conferred by the Nuncio, or by his Officers, upon Perſons of no known Merit; beſides that of having Money; and who are for the moſt Part abſolute Strangers to thoſe that are ſo kind as to help them to their Preſentations; and if *Portugal*, ſaid they, ſuffers ſo much by having her inferiot Dignitys and Benefices preſented to in that Manner, how much worſe would it be for her to have all her Biſhopricks beſtowed ſo?

And thus the *Roman* See never fails when Kingdoms are in diſtreſs, and do ſtand in need of her help, to fiſh for one Advantage or another for her ſelf out of their being in ſuch Circumſtances: So that if they will have her help, they muſt buy it dear: And by ſuch Steps it was that the Popes aſcended to that Height of Grandeur, the World ſees them in at preſent: Tho', it is true, that ſince the Reſtoration of Learning, and which was a conſequence of that, the Reformation, the Popes, on ſuch Occaſions, have not been able to drive ſo good Bargains for themſelves as they us'd to do before.

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The Prior having ſtill remain'd at *Rome*, tho', for any hopes he had of doing Buſineſs there, he might well have left it ſooner; he was affronted in the Streets by ſome *Spaniards*, as he was going to Church; and who having pick'd a Quarrel with his Footmen, they ſhot one of them dead that was cloſe to the Coach; and the Prior having dropped down off his Seat at the ſame Time, it was believed he was ſhot too; but having been taken for dead out of his Coach, as they were ſearching for his Wounds, he came to himſelf, without any Hurt about him, but what the Fright had cauſed; and the Ruffians, who had made this Inſult, having fled ſtrait to the Houſe of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that Miniſter, tho' he denied it, was ſuſpected of having had an Hand in it; however the Pope believed it, and reſented it ſo much, that all the Intereſt *Spain* had in *Rome*, and in the Pope's Affections, could never, after that, procure that Ambaſſador an Audience.

The Prior, upon this Diſaſter, having received a Complement from the Pope, began to have ſome Hopes of Succeſs in his Buſineſs; but having had an Audience granted him when he firſt deſired it, he found the Pope immoveably reſolved not to grant Biſhops to *Portugal*, by any other Way but by that of *Motu proprio*: So the Prior left *Rome*, and returned to *Lisbon*, where he publiſhed

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an Account of his Embaſſy, for ſo he would ſtill call it; but in ſuch a Stile, and with ſo many Excurſions, for no other End but to flouriſh with a Collection of innumerable Scraps of *Latin*, that tho' it is no great Book, he muſt have abundance of Patience that reads it over.

The King of *Portugal* now perceiving that no Hopes remained of procuring Biſhops from the Pope, by any other Way but by that of *Motu proprio*, and which he was reſolv'd never to admit; he firſt conſulted his own Divines, and afterwards the Doctors of the *Sorbon* for Direction what to do in this Caſe: Three Expedients were offered to the King, and which I believe came all from the *Sorbon*, tho' it is not ſaid they did.

The *Firſt* was, That ſeeing the Kingdom of *Portugal* was in great Diſtreſs, for want of Biſhops, and the Pope, tho' he had been apply'd to by all the Ways that could be thought of, had deny'd her his Succour; that the King was therefore, both by Conſcience, and in Policy bound, to reſent this, as the greateſt Injury that could be done to his Crown, and to his Kingdom; and to make the Pope ſenſible of his reſenting it ſo, by ſequeſtring all the Fruits and Penſions which were paid out of *Portugal* to any Eccleſiaſtick reſiding in *Rome*, whether a Native or a Foreigner: And by ſtrictly forbidding the ſending of any

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Money, to the *Roman* Court out of his Dominions upon any Account whatsoever; and by divers other Ways, which the *Portugueses* say their Veneration for the *Roman* See would not suffer them to record, and so we cannot tell what they were.

The *Second* Expedient was, That the King, since there remain'd no hopes of being able to obtain Bishops from the Pope, by a Way which he could allow of; should cause the several Chapters of the vacant Bishopricks, to choose the Ecclesiasticks whom he had nam'd to them; and who being thus Chosen, and consecrated Bishops, should take upon them the Government of their Dioceses: And this was maintained to be lawful, from Bishops having their *Jurisdiction*, no less than their *Order*, immediately from Christ; whereas the modern Custom of Bishops, tho' they are consecrated, not exercising any Jurisdiction before they have Power from the Pope to do it, was said to be founded only on an ecclesiastical Constitution, and which was of no old Date neither in *Spain* it self: That in the *West-Indies* to this Day, the Ecclesiasticks, who are named by the King, or by the Viceroy, are consecrated, and do exercise a full Jurisdiction within their Dioceses, long before they have any Briefs of Confirmation from the Pope: And that an Archbishop, in those Parts,

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Parts, for having lately, out of a Scruple of Conſcience, as he pretended, repreſented that Cuſtom to the Pope as a dangerous Abuſe, had been ſeverely reprimanded by the King of *Spain*.

The *Third* Expedient was, That conſidering the great Diſtreſs *Portugal* and its Conqueſts were in, for want of Biſhops; and that they could have none from *Rome*; the King, with the Conſent of the Clergy, ſhould call a National Synod, and which being met, ſhould chooſe a Patriarch to govern *Portugal* in Spirituals, till recourſe might be had to the *Roman* Pontiff; this was maintained to be agreeable to the primitive Government of the Church; to which, the Diſtreſs the Church of *Portugal* was in at preſent, would juſtify her returning: And to which, if they durſt have ſpoke out, it is probable that they would have added, that the Inconveniencies which at firſt gave Occaſion to thoſe great Changes in the eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, were nothing near ſo great as thoſe were, which the Church of *Portugal* at that Time, by reaſon of the Pope's Obſtinacy, groaned under; nor in truth, as ſhe, and all other Churches which are ſubject to him, are under conſtantly, even when he is in his beſt Humour with them: For when any thing eſtabliſhed by Men, only to prevent an inconvenience, comes it ſelf to be a greater, it ought

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ought to be laid aside, for the same Reason that it was at first established.

These Expedients, which were well received by the Court of *Portugal*, but especially the Second, being in the King's Hands; he did resolve, since nothing was to be got at *Rome* by Submissions, to try what threatning the Pope with providing Bishops for themselves, if he would not give them any, would do: And accordingly, he ordered Father *Nuno de Cunha*, his Agent at *Rome*, to let the Pope understand so much, and to observe how he resented it; and which that Father did, in the Year 1647, in a long and very shrewd Memorial, whose Heads I shall here set down; in it, he told the Pope,

That God had raised King *John* to the possession of his Kingdom of *Portugal*, to which he was called, not only by Right of Inheritance, derived from his great Grandfather, the Infante *Don Edward*; but also by the Laws of the Kingdom; and that he had not entered upon it with Violence, as *Philip* the Second did, without regarding what Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth had writ to him against doing it; but had been called to it by the Three Estates of the Kingdom, by whom *Philip* the Fourth King of *Castile* had been deposed, for having broken the Oath which he had taken to preserve the Laws and Priviledges of *Portugal*: and that King

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King *John* notwithſtanding, when he took Poſſeſſion, did find the Kingdom diſarmed and poor, every thing of Value having been carried out of it by the *Caſtilians*; yet had withſtood all the Treaſons which had been enterprized againſt his Perſon, and the Armys which had attempted to invade his Frontiers, having been always victorious, and that without any dependance or Succour from any Foreign Prince; from whence his Holineſs might gather, how deceitful the Aſſurances were which the *Caſtilians* had given, of conquering *Portugal* in a ſhort Time, if there were a Peace once without *Portugal* being comprehended in it; and who judged it to be more profitable and more honourable for them, to make a Peace with the *Hollanders*, who are Hereticks, and their Vaſſals; than with *Portugal*, which is a free and Catholick Kingdom: And that the King, to juſtify himſelf with his Holineſs, had declared, that in caſe the Catholick King deny'd to admit of the juſt means of an Accommodation, to which he was ready to agree; that he did take God to witneſs, that if the Succours from *France*, with whom he profeſſed an inſeparable Amity, ſhould not be ſufficient; that he muſt then, in his own Defence, be forced to make uſe of the Arms of *Sweden*, and of *England*; tho' at the ſame Time, it would be a great Trouble to him,

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him, to see *Spain* in a Flame of War, and of Heresie; when he would gladly employ the Valour of his Subjects and spend his Treasures against Hereticks and Infidels, a Spirit which he inherited from his glorious Ancestors: And that the King, as an obedient Son of the Church, did as soon as he was proclaimed, send the Bishop of *Lamego*, who was of his Council of State, to have given obedience to the chief Pontiff, *Urban* the Eighth; but who, after a year's stay in *Rome*, was not able to obtain an Audience: And that the ecclesiastical Estate of *Portugal*, had afterwards, with the King's consent, sent the Prior of *Codofeita*, Bishop Elect of *Portalegre*, to *Rome*, to treat concerning the Provision of Bishops; and that they had both been assaulted in the chief Streets by *Castilians*, with an Intention to have murdered them; without attending to the Veneration and Respect which ought to be preserved in the presence of the chief Pontiff: And that the King had likewise determined to have sent the Marquis *de Nisa* for his Ambassador to *Rome*, but, that he might not run the risque of a second Affront, having got *Gremonvil* Ambassador of *France*, to ask his Holiness leave for that Minister to come, it was deny'd; tho' all that was desired was, that he might in the Name of a Catholick Prince give obedience to Christ's Vicar: And that the King notwith-

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notwithstanding all this ill Usage, yet had restored to the Apostolical See, and to its Officers, that Jurisdiction which had been taken from it by the King of *Castile*, when he ordered the Bishop of *Castravane* the Apostolical Collector, to be committed to Prison; and that he had farther ordered the Censures which were before despised, for to be observed; and had commanded the Officers of the Crown to submit themselves to the Auditor of the Vice-Collector, and to beg an Absolution of him; neither had the King suffer'd those Officers before they had done it to come into his Presence, nor to execute their Offices; and did likewise resolve, to oblige them to restore to that Collector, when he returned to *Portugal*, all the ecclesiastical Rents which the *Castilians* had usurped, with all the Writings and Papers which they had taken from him; and to have put an end to all Disputes about that Affair; and to have order'd the Alms of the *Bulla cruzada*, which is apply'd to the Fabrick of St. *Peter's* Church in *Rome*, to have been paid to the Apostolical See, which they had not been in many years before: But that none of these Finezas had been able to oblige the Apostolical See to grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*, which was the thing the King desired above all others: And that as our Lord Christ had committed the care of Souls to

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his Holineſs, ſo the Blood of all the Souls which periſhed in *Portugal* for want of Paſtors, would lye upon his Holineſs's Conſcience; and that this great want of Paſtors extended it ſelf, with a lamentable Ruine, to the vaſt Dominions which the Crown of *Portugal* had in *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*; where in many Places, the Sacraments were not adminiſtred for want of Pariſh Prieſts: And that whereas it had been the conſtant Cuſtom of the chief Pontiffs, to have all Affairs of great moment diſcuſſed, in a publick or private Conſiſtory; this Affair, tho' there cannot be a weightier, has never been ſuffered to be brought into one; for which, the King can think of no other Reaſon, but there not being one Cardinal that would offer to counſel his Holineſs not to ſuffer ſo many Souls to periſh for lack of Paſtors, rather than confirm the Biſhops which the King, after the Example of his Anceſtors, had preſented to the vacant Churches; and eſpecially after it had been determined in the Council of *Trent*, that *Kings*, or *Poſſeſſors of Kingdoms*, ſhould preſent to all Biſhopricks within their Dominions: Neither could the King of *Caſtile*, being a Catholick, be diſpleaſed with his Holineſs for executing a Decree of that Council: That the Pontiffs were not Judges of Titles to Crowns; neither would *Philip* the Second ſuffer them to be ſo, when he took poſſeſſion

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of *Portugal*; but their Buſineſs was ſtill to attend to the good of Souls; and being Chriſt's Vicars on Earth, they reckon'd it their Duty to be equally the common Fathers of all Catholicks: Whereas his Holineſs had taken a contrary Way with *Portugal*, and had treated her Prince, neither as a King nor a Catholick; and tho' his Holineſs might be certain, that he had never ſo much as in Thought ſinned againſt the Apoſtolical See, yet he had treated him, as if he had been a Heretick or an Infidel: And tho' the Temporal State of the Church in *Italy*, might have a dependance on the King of *Caſtile*, its Spiritual State was not leſs beholden to *Portugal*, which had exceeded all other Nations in a Zeal for augmenting the Faith, and a Veneration and Obedience to the Church, which ſhe had with great loſſes and troubles carried to the moſt remote Parts of the World: That *Clement* the Seventh had loſt the Kingdom of *England*, for having judged it neceſſary for him to accommodate himſelf to the dictates of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; and which Emperor did in a ſhort Time after make a Peace with *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, without regarding the Pope; and ſo did ſuffer the Catholick Faith to be loſt in that Kingdom; neither did he ever treat about the reſtoring the Lands to the Church, which the Hereticks had taken from

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from her; and that *Clement* the Eighth did receive *Henry* the Fourth, into the Bosom of the Church, and stiled him King of *Navar*, without any Regard to the Diligences and Contradictions of *Philip* the Second, and his Ministers: That it was certain the King would not deny obedience to the Apostolical See, nor to the chief Pontiff, nor would ever consent to Heresie or Schism; but if thro' military Liberty, and commerce and trade with Heretieks and Infidels, some things which are not decent, nor profitable to the Church, should arise, for want of Bishops, he hoped the blame of it would not fall upon his Conscience. Finally, that the King having consulted divers pious and learned Divines, within, and out of his Kingdom, was assured by them, *That he might act securely, as if there were no access and recourse to the Apostolical See; and that since there was not, it belonged to the Chapters, upon his naminati-on, to choose their Bishops, as the Custom was formerly in* Spain, *and which is still observed in some parts of it.*

The Pope understood the old ecclesiastical Customs of *Spain* too well not to feel the Sting that is in the close of this brisk Memorial; and so being sensible, that that was a course which the *Portugueses* might take, and justify; he was in so much pain, that it was believed, that if it had been insisted on,

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and puſhed on briskly by the King of *Portugal*, that the Pope to prevent its Execution, would certainly have granted Biſhops to him in the uſual manner.

But the Inquiſition in *Portugal*, moved either by its own blind Bigotry, or by ſome ſecret Papal Engines, did ſoon after diſarm their King of this uſeful Weapon: For they having taken all the forementioned Expedients, but particularly that which related to the Chapters chooſing of their Biſhops, under their Examination, they did crudely as well as impolitickly, condemn them all, *as matters ſavouring of Hereſy*; to the Pope's great Joy, who did not only extol that Court highly for its Zeal, but did declare, *that it had condemned a Propoſition for him, which he ſhould ſcarce have ventured to determine.* And thus the King of *Portugal* was robbed of the Arms the Skill of *France* had helped him to, by the Bigotry of his own Subjects, and which would have brought the Pope to Reaſon, had he believed the *Portugueſes* to be in earneſt with them: And the King himſelf, tho' he was animated to have held them ſtill, in contradiction to the unlearned Cenſure of the Inquiſition, by the moſt eminent Divines in *Portugal* and in *France*, he could not be perſwaded to it; but either out of Reſpect to that Court, or out of Fear of it, did

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let them drop, neither did he suffer them to be made use of any more.

There were two things, which, during this Difference with the Pope, disturbed the Peace of *Portugal*, and of all its Conquests, the most sensibly.

The one was, the great Heats and Quarrels which were in all Monasterys and Convents of Friars and Nuns, about the Elections of their Superiours, and other Officers; for as the Regulars, Men and Women, are under none but the Pope, so there being no Nuncio, or other Papal Minister in *Portugal* at this time, to curb their keen Spirits, the Monasterys and Convents were all in a Flame, and like so many Bedlams rather than Religious Societies; there being no sort of People, that do thirst more eagerly after any Honours, or do use more indirect means to obtain them, than the Regulars do every where, to get into the Offices of their Order and Convents; and of this I have seen such demonstrations, and under a Nuncio's Nose too, that I have often wondred, that the Pope, for his own Ease, and for the Peace and Quiet of Monasterys and Convents, does not take the Power of all Elections from them, into his own Hands; neither can I think of any other Reason for his not having done it, but only, that knowing their Tempers to be too eager to part with that Liberty quietly,

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quietly, he will not venture to attempt to take it from them, for fear of raiſing a loud Storm about his Ears: And in truth, the Feuds were at this time ſo high in all the Monaſterys and Convents, that the King was compelled to exerciſe the Royal Authority to keep them within ſome Bounds; notwithſtanding he was ſenſible, that his doing of that, would be made uſe of to his great prejudice in the Court of *Rome*; as it was, having been repreſented there by the *Spaniards*, as nothing leſs than an Uſurpation of the Pontifical Authority.

The Second was, the Behaviour of the Chapters of all the vacant Biſhopricks; who having had the Adminiſtration of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, in their hands for many years, were grown very corrupt, and were ſo imperious, that they uſed the inferior Clergy very ill, and did uſe none worſe than thoſe that had been named by the King to the vacant Biſhopricks; whether they lived in their own Dioceſſes, or in any other that was vacant: And this Tyranny of the Chapters was riſen to that height, that the nominated Biſhops not being able to bear it any longer, did aſſemble themſelves together in *Lisbon*, to ſee how a ſtop might be put to it; and having come to a Reſolution to petition the Pope to grant them the Exerciſe of the Epiſcopal Juriſdicti-

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on, without mentioning the King, over their ſeveral Dioceſſes; they did with the King's leave, ſend an Agent to *Rome* to ſupplicate the Pope for it: But the Pope, who always favours Chapters, and all other exempted Bodies, againſt their Biſhops, told the Agent plainly, *That he could not grant what they had deſired, without doing an injury to the Chapters, to whom, by the Canons, the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over Dioceſſes, whilſt they were vacant, did belong:* And the Papal Miniſters, being vehemently urged by that Agent, he was told by them, *That they had reaſon to think, that they that ſent him, did graſp at Juriſdiction, more out of Ambition, than out of any Deſire they had to remedy the Evils they complained of ſo much.*

After this rude repulſe, and which the Chapters were reckoned to have promoted by their ſecret Agents, I read of no Motion made in *Rome*, by *Portugal*, for above a year; when ſhe was rouſed to make one, by a new Stratagem of the Pope and *Spaniards*: The Plot was, to have ſent a great Miſſion of Biſhops and Friars, who were not *Portugueſes*, and without taking any Notice of the King of *Portugal* in it, into the Kingdom of *Congo*; and in purſuance of this deſign, two Capuchin Friars, the one a *Spaniard*, and the other an *Italian*, who had lately come to *Rome* from thoſe Parts, did give out, that they had been ſent by the King of *Congo*, with the Character

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Character of Ambaſſadors, to yield Obedience, in his Name, to the Pope; and to ſupplicate to have ſome Biſhops and Miſſionarys forthwith ſent to his Kingdoms.

And as the Popes, for a long time, have affected, now and then to make a Noiſe with Embaſſys of Obedience being ſent to them by ſome remote great King or other; ſo the Miſſionarys having obſerved that, have taken care to gratify him with ſuch Embaſſys, as often as he is diſpoſed to receive them; being pretty ſure, that People, in this part of the World, will believe that they have thoſe Characters, rather than go to the Courts they pretend to come from, to enquire into the Truth of their Credentials. So the two Capuchin Ambaſſadors of *Congo*, had a publick and very ſolemn Audience given them by the Pope; and having, in the Name of the great Chriſtian King of *Congo*, their Maſter, kiſſed the Pope's Foot; they afterwards in their Maſter's Name ſupplicated for ſome Biſhops and Miſſionarys to go forthwith to *Congo*. The Pope, with the Advice of the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, did Name One Archbiſhop, Two Biſhops, and Thirty Friars, to be ſent thither, with all Expedition; his dear Son, the King of *Congo*, being ſaid to expect them with great Impatience; neither was there

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one of the *Portugueſe* Nation among all thoſe Miſſionarys.

Father *Nuno*, who had oppoſed this Miſſion from the beginning, doubting he ſhould not be able to hinder it, acquainted the Court of *Portugal* with it, as a Contrivance to affront the King, and to worm him out of his *African* Conqueſts: Upon that Intelligence, Doctor *Emanuel Carillo*, who I ſuppoſe was a Lawyer, was immediately diſpatched to *Rome*, to remonſtrate againſt that Miſſion, as a great injury to the Court of *Portugal*, to which the Miſſion of *Congo* had always belonged; and to lay before the Pope, that as thoſe Countreys were firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſes*, ſo ever ſince the Kingdom of *Angola* was conquered by them, there had been a cloſe friendſhip and brotherhood betwixt the two Kings of *Portugal* and *Congo*; and by which means that King had been brought to Baptiſm: And as it was one of the Articles of that Union, that the Biſhop of *Angola*, and the Canons of that Church, who are all *Portugueſes*, and maintained by the Crown of *Portugal*, ſhould aſſiſt at the Court of *Congo*; ſo ſhould that Miſſion be taken from the *Portugueſes*, and put into the Hands of any other Nation, it would be of fatal conſequence to the Chriſtianity of thoſe Parts; there being no Catholick Prince near them, beſides the King of *Portugal*, that had Forces

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to oppreſs the Boldneſs of the Heathens, or to hold the Chriſtian Converts ſteady in the Faith: And that ſhould the King of *Congo* ſeparate himſelf from the Crown of *Portugal*, as that Crown would be obliged to make a War upon him; ſo the conſequence of that War, might be the eſtabliſhing of the *Dutch* in thoſe Parts; who, upon a miſunderſtanding betwixt the King of *Congo*, and the Governour of *Angola*, had been invited by that King into that Countrey; and in which they had already taken the City of *Loanda*, and ſeveral other Places from the *Portugueſes*. *Carillo* likewiſe had Inſtructions to make an Offer to the Pope, that if he would confirm the Biſhops which the King had nominated, and in their Breves mention the King as their Patron, that he would agree, that it ſhould be inſerted into them, *That it ſhould not be to the prejudice of the pretenſions of any Perſon whatſoever*; and that if this were not granted, that he ſhould then ſupplicate the Pope, to appoint one of the remaining Biſhops in *Portugal*, to be his Viſitor in that Kingdom and in all its Conqueſts, and with ſo full a Power, that he might be able to extinguiſh the great Flames which were among the Regulars, about the Elections of their Superiours and other Officers, to the great Scandal of the Seculars and of the Laity. *Carillo* had likewiſe a Let-

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Letter to the Pope, from the Cortez of the Kingdom, which was ſitting at that time, full of paſſionate complaints of the deplorable State Religion was reduced to, in *Portugal* and in all its large Conqueſts, for want of Paſtors.

But *Gallio* cared for none of thoſe things; perceiving plainly by their Letter, that out of Reverence to the Inquiſition, they, as well as the King, had laid down the only Arms which could diſlodge him out of his *Motu proprio*, in which he had entrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly.

When *Carillo* came to *Rome*, he found the *Congo* Miſſion advanced ſo far, that the Miſſionarys having received their laſt Diſpatches from the Pope, were preparing to begin their Journey into *Spain*; where they were to be ſupply'd with Money, and all other ſecular Proviſions; the Merit of that Part in all Miſſions, being conſtantly left by the Pope to ſome ſecular Prince or other.

But what the King of *Portugal* would not have been able to have diverted, by complaining of its being a great Wrong to him; had an End put to it, by the certain News of the City of *Loanda*'s being taken from the *Dutch* by the *Portugueſes*, having come to *Spain* before the Miſſionarys had embarked: By the Recovery of which City, the *Portugueſes* had got the Bridle into their Hands again,

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again, which they had formerly put into the Mouth of their Chriſtian Ally and Brother the King of *Congo*: As to the other two Supplications, which *Carillo* was to have made, they were both rejected with Scorn; the *Spaniards* hopes of being able to conquer *Portugal* in a ſhort time, being, upon the Peace of *Munſter*, which was now concluded, raiſed too high, for thoſe Supplications, or for the Cortez's Letter, to meet with a favourable Reception at *Rome*.

The King of *Portugal* likewiſe, now that the Houſe of *Auſtria* had a Peace with the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, did begin to dread the Power of *Spain* more than he had before; and was for that Reaſon more ſollicitous than ever to have got the Pope to have acknowledged him: And not ſeeing any other way by which that could be brought about, but by gaining *Donna Olimpia*, the Pope's Niece, and by whom he was entirely governed, to be his Advocate; he applied himſelf to that Lady, by the Method all the World knew ſhe was to be gained, and ſo having made her very coſtly Preſents, ſhe undertook his Cauſe, and with thoſe Appearances of Zeal for it, that the King did not doubt but that he ſhould gain his Point; but whether that Lady, who was believed to have the Keys of the Papacy at her Girdle, as much as Pope *Joan*, if there was ever any ſuch Pope, did play the

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the *Portugueses* a Trick for the rich Presents which they had made her, and did never intend to assist them in their business; or was not able to prevail with the Pope her Uncle, which few believed; this secret chargeable Negotiation came to nothing: And the King not knowing what Course to take next, the Cortez which was then assembled, did undertake that business again, and did send the Pope a passionate and very long Letter about it; but as this Letter, no more than their former, did threaten the Pope, that if he did not forthwith grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*, that she would help her self to those she wanted, and by a way more agreeable to the practice of the *Spanish* Church in her purest Ages, than this of sending to *Rome* for Bishops was; so it had no more Respect paid to it by the Pope. I shall not insert that Letter here, tho' I have it by me, all, and more than is in it, being contained in the Memorial, of which I have given the Heads; only the miserable State the Church of *Portugal*, and all its Conquests, was in in the year 1649, for want of Pastors, I shall here set down, as it was laid by that Cortez before the Pope, and in their own words.

THE Kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarves*, do consist of thirteen Cathedral Churches; of which three, *Braga*, *Lisbon*, and *Ebora*,

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Ebora, are Metropolitans; and in these, and the others, which are *Conimbra*, *Guarda*, *Lamego*, *Visseu*, *Porto*, *Algarves*, *Miranda*, *Leiria*, *Portalegre*, and *Elvas*, there is only one Prelate, in *Elvas*, which is the least in the whole Kingdom; and who does not reside in his Dioceſs neither, being dispenced with by your Holineſs, on the Account of his being Dean of the Royal Chapel.

In *Asia*, which comprehends above Three thousand Leagues, inhabited by People and Colonies of our Nation, five Bishops are wanting, they are *Cochim*, *Malaca*, *Meliapor*, *China*, and *Japan*: And two only are there, the one in *Goa*, and the other in *Cranganor*; but who are both so laden with years and infirmities, that we may well say, the solitude of those two Churches, is equal to that of the rest.

In *Africa*, where there is the like Dilatation of our Empire, obedient to the *Roman* Church, four Bishops are wanting, who are all the past chief Pontiffs have assigned to those large Provinces; and in many years there has been no Bishops in the City of *Tangier*, the Frontier to the *Moors*, and which, to the Glory of the Church, sanctified *Africa*, to *Mahomet's* great grief: Neither is there any Bishop in the City of *Santiago*, which comprehends the nine populous Islands of *Cabo Verde*; it is the same with the Island Saint *Thomas*, which extends it self along the Coast

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Coast of *Guinea*, a Countrey most fertile in the Conversion of Idolaters: Neither is there a Bishop in the City of St. *Paul* of *Loanda*, the Metropolis of the vast Kingdoms of *Angola*.

In *America*, there is not one Bishop in the whole populous Territory of *Brasil*, whose Jurisdiction extends it self above Two thousand and Two hundred Leagues by Land; and is peopled with rich Towns, Garrisons, and Cities, and of which the greatest part at this time are infested by the Nations of the North; who watching over our Carelessness, are labouring to introduce their Heresies, with the same Craft, with which they have spread them over the whole World; and the Perfidy of the *Jews*, for want of Prelates, meets with a very weak Opposition: So that to our great Grief, we see the large Vineyard, which was planted by our Priests, plucked up by the Roots, without Remedy, and Tares sowed in it by the Enemies of the Gospel.

The Islands in the Ocean, which are adorned with stately Cities and with two Cathedral Churches, do mourn under the same common Misery, by reason of their having been so long neglected by the Apostolical See; *Angra* which is the most populous, and has seven Islands subject to her, has not seen, nor known her Pastor for many years: And the City of *Funchal*, the Head of

of the Isle of *Madera*, is now likewise without a Bishop; after having been divers years without the Pastoral Exercise, by reason of the great Age her last Bishop lived to.

As this Account magnifies the Empire of *Portugal* strangely; so the Countries which the *Portugueses* do still call their Conquests, a Nation of less Vanity would call their Plantations only; all or most of the *Portugueses*, having settled themselves in those Regions at first, either with the consent of the Natives, or with too little fighting to Glory in them as their Conquests: For many more Mens Lives have been often lost in the taking of one Town in *Europe*, than the *Portugueses* lost in Fight, in making the Conquests, which they say here do extend themselves many thousands of Miles.

But as none of these things moved the Pope, so the King finding that all that *Portugal* could do at *Rome*, signified nothing; he ordered his Ambassador in *Paris*, to try if he could engage the Court of *France* to use all its Interest in *Rome* in his Favour: And which that Court having promised to do; a Commission was presently dispatched to the Cardinal *d'Este*, not to give over soliciting the Pope, untill he had granted Bishops to *Portugal*: And which the Cardinal, who was a brisk young Prince, executed with

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with so great Heat and Vigour, that the Pope being grown quite sick of his incessant Importunities, he told him one Day, *His Conscience was troubled with a very painful Scruple*, and having been asked by the Cardinal what it was, the Pope answered, *It is for having suffered you to stay so long in* Rome, *to the great prejudice of your Church, where you ought to reside, and to take care of your Flock:* The Cardinal reply'd, *Your Holiness's Scruple is very just*; but asked him at the same time, *whether the Churches of* Portugal, *and of all its Conquests, having had no Bishops for many years to take care of them, had not raised a more tormenting Scruple in his Holiness's Conscience.* The Pope was so incensed with this brisk Repartee, that turning away from the Cardinal, he said to those that were about him, *I will take the Cap from this Boy*; to which the Cardinal, before the Words were well out of his Mouth, reply'd, *If you do, I will put on one of Steel*: And so having flung out from the Pope's presence, without any Ceremony, he went strait to his own Palace, which he turned into a Garrison; taking into it a great number of armed Men, and planting Ordnance at his Gates and in the Windows. But tho' this Heat betwixt the Pope and the Cardinal, was soon over, and the Pope's painful Scruple of Conscience was removed, without the Cardinal's

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Cardinal's leaving *Rome* to go to his Church, from which he had been ſo long abſent; the Affair of *Portugal* remained in the ſame Poſture it was in before.

But the King, who would leave no Stone unturn'd, having been inform'd that an Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France* was to meet in *Paris* in the year 1652, he commanded his Ambaſſador in that Court, to attend that Aſſembly, and to deſire them to make an earneſt Application to the Pope, in their own Names, in the behalf of the diſtreſſed Church of *Portugal*, and of its Conqueſts; and that Aſſembly, having received Orders from the Court to undertake that Affair, after ſome Conſultations, they came to a Reſolution, not only to write to the Pope about it, which they had done ſome years before to no purpoſe, but to ſend an Envoy to *Rome* to preſs it home upon the Pope's Conſcience; and having named the Biſhop of *Beaujeu*, the moſt celebrated Prelate in *France*, at that time, for Parts, Piety, and Learning, for that Imployment; they ſent the following Letter by him.

The Clergy of France's *Letter to the Pope.*

'HAving been asked by the moſt ſerene 'King of *Portugal*, what Courſe he 'ſhould take to prevent the Chriſtian Re-'ligion

'ligion being totally loſt among his Sub-
'jects, by reaſon of the Churches in his
'Kingdoms being without Biſhops; and
'there having been always a cloſe corre-
'ſpondence betwixt the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates
'of *France* and *Portugal*, he deſired us to de-
'clare our Thoughts of that matter.

'We the Biſhops of the Church of *France*
'have now recourſe to your Holineſs a ſecond
'time about that Affair; and do acquaint
'you, moſt holy Father, that the State the
'Church of *Portugal* is in at preſent, is ſuch,
'that none can be more prejudicial to the
'People, nor more dangerous to Religion,
'nor ſo likely to ſtir up the Envy of evil
'Men againſt your Holineſs: We are not
'ignorant, that your Holineſs being a Per-
'ſon of great Wiſdom and Experience,
'cannot but foreſee all thoſe Dangers, nor of
'your retaining ſtill a fatherly Affection for
'the Church of *Portugal*; tho' by reaſon of
'great conſideration you have hitherto been
'with-held from relieving and comforting her
'miſerable Widowhood.

'Wherefore we who cannot but be ſen-
'ſibly touched with the great loſſes, and
'the immenſe grief of our Siſter, are per-
'ſwaded that it is our Duty to ſollicit your
'Holineſs a ſecond Time, and to urge you
'now with much more vehemence; and
'for that reaſon we do not only ſend your
'Holineſs

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'Holineſs this Letter, but we do alſo ſend 'to you the Biſhop of *Beauſeu*, who for his 'great Talents, and Piety, and for the 'Eſteem he is in among us, cannot but be 'very acceptable to your Holineſs.

'Hear the Church of *France*, which calls 'upon you, to ſuccour *Portugal* in her great 'Diſtreſs, and to attend to the Dignity of the 'Apoſtolical See, and to prevent a Schiſm, 'the worſt of all Evils; and to drive away 'the Wolves, which whilſt they have no Paſ-'tors in *Portugal*, will deſtroy its Fold. To 'create new Biſhops, to prepare People for 'God, and to provide Churches, which are 'under a deſolate Widowhood of Spouſes, 'as ſoon as it is poſſible, that Religion 'may not ſuffer for want of them, has been 'in truth always the firſt Care of the chief 'Pontiffs: And if, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, the 'Origin of Hereſies is the Biſhop, who is 'one, being deſpiſed by ſome of his Sub-'jects; your Holineſs may eaſily foreſee, 'how great the Danger of Hereſie and 'Schiſm muſt be which threatens the 'Church of *Portugal*, in which at this time 'there is but one ſingle Biſhop, and who is 'very ancient too. You may anſwer all the 'King of *Spain*'s Reaſons with one Word, '*By bidding him recover, what he ſaith is his 'own, with the Sword*, as that Kingdom is de-'fended by the King of *Portugal*; who

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'gained it by the benefit of Reſtitution? 'For what if *Spain* ſhould always oppoſe in-'conveniencies to your granting of Biſhops 'to *Portugal*, would your Holineſs never 'allow her any?

'You who are conſtituted the chief Pon-'tiff of the Church by the Prince of Prelates, 'execute your Office, and grant Paſtors to 'the Church of *Portugal*, that they who 'have ſtrayed may be brought back to the 'Fold, and be reſcu'd out of the Jaws of the '*Wolves*, who are roaring over them to teat 'them in pieces.

'But that we may not be farther trouble-'ſome to your Holineſs, we remit the reſt 'to the Biſhop of *Beaujeu*, who will in our 'Name treat about this Affair; and who 'will, we do hope, obtain in your Holineſs's 'Preſence, that place which is due to the 'Epiſcopal Grandeur, and to the Authority 'of thoſe by whom he is ſent, and to that 'Reſpect which is born to them by the holy 'Apoſtolical See. In the mean time we wiſh 'your Holineſs a long Life for the good and 'profit of the Church.

Paris, in the year 1652.

This Letter, as it is writ with much more Spirit and Freedom than that of the Church of *Portugal*, ſo I do not doubt, but that if the Aſſembly by which it was writ had been left to

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to themſelves, and not been reſtrain'd by the *Portugueſes*, from touching upon any of the Points which had been condemned by the Inquiſition, but that they would have threaten'd the Pope with thoſe, or ſome other ſuch Methods, to very good purpoſe; as they would certainly have done long before, if the Church of *Portugal*'s, had been the Church of *France*'s Caſe.

The Biſhop of *Beaujeu*, before he left *Paris*, did write a long Letter to the King of *Portugal*, to aſſure him that he would do him all the Service that lay in his power; and having expreſs'd a wonderful Zeal in that Affair, he did ſeem to be pretty confident that he ſhould bring it to a good Iſſue, to the great Joy of that King.

But both the King and that Biſhop found afterwards that they had been too ſanguine; for tho' that Prelate did as much at *Rome*, as a great Capacity, aſſiſted with great Learning and Zeal could perform, it did all ſignify nothing; for he could draw no other Anſwer from the Pope, but, *That he was ready to fill all the vacant Biſhopricks in* Portugal *and in its Conqueſts*, Motu proprio; *but that if they would not receive Biſhops from him in that manner, he could not help them to any.* This was a Treatment, no Kingdom in the *Roman* Catholick World, beſides *Portugal*, would, I believe, have endured ſo long; no not *Spain* her ſelf,

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as Popish as she pretends to be; and for *France*, she, I believe, would have eased the Pope of the Trouble of denying her Twice. But as a King of *Portugal*, as has been before noted, who was offer'd a high religious Title by the Pope, would accept of none but of that, of *the Pope's most humble Servant*; so the *Portugueses* after that King's Example, may justly lay Claim to that honourable Title of *the Pope's most obedient Slaves*. And of this *Ignatius Loyola* was sensible, who being told that King *John* the Third of *Portugal* was angry with the Pope for supporting the Cardinal *Michael de Silva* against him; did say, *That he knew the Kings of* Portugal *to be so Catholick, that if the Pope did trample upon their Beards, they would not resent it so as to disobey him in any thing.* And how was it possible for *France* to do a People any Service at *Rome*, who would not allow her to make use of the only Means which could have serv'd them there?

And here, upon the great and constant charge and trouble which *France* was at, for Six and twenty Years, to separate *Portugal* from the *Spanish* Monarchy; and the much greater charge the House of *Austria* was at during all that time, to have kept them united: I cannot but take Notice of what has been the Success of all that cost and trouble on both Sides; which is, That the House of

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of *Bourbon*, at this time, is like to lose the Crown of *Spain* by that Separation; and the House of *Austria* is like to gain that Crown by it: A double clear Instance of the short-sightedness of all human Policy; and to these a third, and which is Modern too, may be added, which is, *Spain*'s having had ten times more assistance against the overgrown Power of *France*, by the *Dutch*'s having thrown off her Yoke, than she could ever have had from them, if they had continu'd subject to her; and yet what an immense Treasure, and how much Blood, did *Spain* spend to have hinder'd that Separation?

After this Denial in the Year 1652, I read of no Diligences us'd in *Rome* about the Affair of *Portugal*, during the Pontificate of *Innocent* the Tenth; to which an unwelcome Death did put an End in the Year 1655.

Innocent being dead, the *Barbarino*'s, and the *French*, strove hard and long in the Conclave, to have exalted the Cardinal *Sacchetti*, who was an intimate Friend of *Mazarine*'s, and had been long a *French* Pensioner, and from the Beginning had appear'd Zealous to have had the King of *Portugal* own'd at *Rome*: But as the *Spaniards* were not ignorant of this, so they did with their whole Strength oppose that Cardinal's Exaltation; the Ambassador of *Spain* having on the first

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Day of the Conclave declar'd his Master's Exclusion of that Cardinal: And as this Conclave did sit near Three Months before they came to an Election, and had all the Tricks and Fourberys play'd over in it which the Papacy and *Machiavel* have inspir'd *Italians* with; so having met with a short Account in *Spanish* of the Proceedings in that Conclave, and which I believe came from a good Hand, I shall, for a little Variety, set it down here.

On the Eighteenth of *January*, in the Year 1655, the Mass of the Holy Ghost having been heard, according to Custom, in the Chappel of St. *Peter*, and where an Oration was made by the Abbot *Rospillioſi*, concerning the Election of a new Pope; all the Cardinals, that were present, went to the Pallace of the Vatican; where the Conclave having been made ready, and divided into as many Cells as there are Cardinals, they did all enter into their several Apartments; the Cells of the Cardinals *Sandoval*, *de la Cuva*, and *Mazarine*, being all that were empty: In the Evening, the Cardinals were visited by the Ambassadors, the *Roman* Barons, and most of the Prelates in *Rome*; and the Ambassador of *Spain*, when he was in Consultation with the Cardinals *Montalto* and *Lugo*, having, according to his Custom, been doubtful to say any thing concerning the

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the Excluſion of *Sachetti*; the Promoters of that Cardinal's Exaltation, were ſo animated by it, that they hoped to have been able to have exalted him the next Morning; and having gone to work preſently, they did ſomething towards it that Night; but the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, and the *Medici's*, who are of the *Spaniſh* Faction, were outragious againſt their Ambaſſador; and the Cardinal *John Carlos Medici* did let him underſtand, *That he would not fail to ſend an Account of his Conduct into* Spain, *and which he believed would give him Cauſe to repent of what he had done:* The Ambaſſador being much terrify'd with this Threat, deſired the next Morning to be admitted into the Conclave; and which having been granted to him, he did there declare openly, before the Cardinals to whom he had ſpoke ambiguouſly about it before, that *he did in the Catholick King's Name, pronounce the Excluſion of the Cardinal Sachetti*; and as this Declaration very much ſtartled the whole College, and did cool the Courage of *Sachetti*'s Promoters, ſo the *Medici* were helped to Time by it, for to ſtrengthen their Party. The Conclave was not ſhut up before the Twentieth of *January*, for want of Officers; and on that Day there was a Scrutiny in the Morning, and another in the Afternoon; but thoſe early Scrutinys are but little conſidered, Matters

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not being then fixed and ſettled by Negociations; but after a few days the number of *Sachetti*'s Votes was much increaſed, and that contrary to what had been agreed on among his Promoters, which was that *Sachetti* ſhould not be brought upon the State, untill the Conclave was tired out with all the other pretenders having tried what they were able to do; and which Agreement was of uſe to the *Spaniards* and the *Medici's*, who got time thereby to eſtabliſh his Excluſion.

The Conclave being thus divided, into the *Spaniſh* and *Barbarine* Parties; the *Barbarini's* when they treated about the Exaltation of *Sachetti* were joyned by the Squadron *Volant*, which conſiſted of Eleven Cardinals, and who were every one their own head, and by the *French* likewiſe, who had Five Cardinals, and who, above all others deſired to have *Sachetti* exalted; not only for his having been excluded by *Spain*, but chiefly for his being an intimate Friend of *Mazarine*'s.

The *Barbarini's*, the *French*, and the Squadron *Volant*, did vote obſtinately for ſome time twice a Day, for *Sachetti*, and did once make up Five and Thirty Votes for him; however they had but little hopes of being able to exalt him, ſeeing the *Medici's* who were of the *Spaniſh* Faction, had fortify'd themſelves with Seven and Twenty Votes for his Excluſion; without reckoning in the old

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old Cardinals of *Urban*'s Creation, who did all underſtand very well, that the Excluſion of *Sachetti*, was a thing convenient for their Fortunes; in the mean time a Paper appeared, and as was ſuppos'd by *Barbarino's* Order, in which the Cardinal *Sachetti* was pronounc'd the fitteſt Perſon in the whole College to be exalted to the Papacy; and which was done by him, on purpoſe to excuſe his not putting any of his own Creatures into the ballance againſt him; and ſo, tho' ſeveral of them were propoſed, they did all meet with unconquerable Oppoſition and Contradiction; and the Arts which were uſed in their favour, being detected, did hinder rather than further, their Exaltation.

By theſe means the Conclave was continued to the great diſſatisfaction of the College; thoſe delays being very ill taken by the Cardinals, as were alſo the Plots of the Cardinal *Barbarino*, who inſiſted on the Exaltation of *Sachetti*, not regarding the incommodities the College laboured under, nor the dangers their Lives were in: For ſo full was *Barbarino* of that matter, that he was often overheard ſaying, *O Sachetti, O Cataletti!* whereby he meant, *O Pope Sachetti, O the Coffins of the contrary Votes.*

But the humourſome Cardinal *John Carlos de Medici*, did now with ſingular Induſtry begin to complain of the Catholick King's Excluſion

Exclusion of the Person of *Sachetti*, and did offer to undertake, if that Bar were remov'd and Leave were granted to choose any Cardinal, that one should be exalted that was in his Catholick Majesty's Interest; but these Plots vanished quickly, being perceived, by the Persons themselves that were nominated, to be only *Venues* against *Venues*, or Tricks play'd against Tricks; however *Sachetti*'s Hopes did sink so fast daily, that having given it over for a lost Game, he began to cast about, since he could not have the Papacy himself, by what Means he might exalt his great Friend and Confident the Cardinal *Gichi* to it; and knowing that Cardinal to be under the Exclusion of *France*, he writ to his Friend *Mazarine*, and did assure him, that if that Exclusion was taken off, *France* should receive all Satisfaction: And *Mazarine*, trusting to his Friend's Word, perswaded the King to write to Monsieur *Leon*, his Ambassador in *Rome*, to take off the Exclusion, and to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, that he might in part owe his Election to him, and not wholly to the *Spaniards*.

Upon this the Cardinals *Lomelino*, *Barbarino*, *Sachetti*, and *Imperiale*, did all agree to exalt the Cardinal *Gichi*; but being sensible, that without the Concurrence of the *Medici*'s, and of the *Spaniards*, they would not be able

able to bring it about, they resolv'd to treat of it with the Cardinal *Lugo*, who they knew was afraid lest St. *Clement*'s Practices, which were still boyling, might gather more Heat; and that he was also jealous least *Barbarino*, finding himself defeated of his Hopes, might, contrary to his Inclination, out of necessity, or out of fear of danger, accept of something that was not convenient.

Lugo was glad to have an Occasion given him of bestowing his Vote on a Person of so great Merit as Cardinal *Gichi*, whose Exaltation was passionately desired by the *Jesuites*, of which Order *Lugo* himself had been; but being doubtful of the *Medici*'s, tho' he had no Reason for it, he writ to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to acquaint him with all that had passed between the Cardinal *Barbarino* and him; and did tell him farther, that to secure the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, it was necessary, he should by a Letter signify to the *Medici*'s, that by a Courier which passed lately thro' *Rome* to *Naples*, he had received fresh Orders from *Madrid*, commanding him to do all that he was able to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, and in case he were opposed in that, he was then commanded to go to the Conclave, and there immediately to withdraw the Catholick King's Exclusion of the Person of Cardinal *Sachetti*; and the Ambassador having, according

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cording to Cardinal *Lugo*'s Directions, writ to the *Medici*'s, that he had received such an expreſs Order from *Madrid*, tho' there was no such thing, the *Medici*'s did agree to it presently, and with a very good Will; but being still apprehensive lest the old Cardinals, being dissatisfied with *Gichi* for his being young, might joyn themselves to some other Malecontents, to the ruine of the whole buſineſs, the Cardinal *Bichi* was employ'd to negociate for *Gichi*, and who being a Prudent and crafty Man, and continually confin'd to his Apartment by the Gout, was visited daily by the greateſt part of the Cardinals: And accordingly on the Third of *April*, *Bichi* after Dinner, did begin a discourse about the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*; and the Cardinals, *Medici*, *Barbarino*, *Eſte*, and *Antonio*, having been observ'd to go to his Cell, after that, oftner than they used to do before, a Rumour was presently spread, not only in the Conclave, but over the whole City, that the Cardinal *Gichi* would be choſen Pope, and who thereupon, on Sunday Morning, was, as it were, proclaim'd Pope by the People.

The crafty *Bichi*, fearing leaſt this unseaſonable Rumour might have an ill Effect in the Conclave, he presently gave out, that *Barbarino* was resolv'd to make his laſt Effort for *Sachetti*; and that he had brought *Gichi* upon

upon the Stage for no other end, but to gain the old Cardinals, who he knew would never give their Votes for one ſo young as *Gichi*; and this having been believed by the major Part of the Cardinals, *Bichi* purſu'd his Point ſo cloſe all *Sunday* and *Monday*, that on *Tueſday* Morning he had fix'd the buſineſs with *Barbarino*, *Eſte*, and the Squadron *Volant*, and ſoon after with the *Medici's*; and in the Evening it was adjuſted with *Lugo*, that the next Day, *Barbarino* and *Eſte* ſhould go to *Antonio* the Dean of the College, and propoſe the Cardinal *Gichi* to him, as the Perſon that was deſir'd by them all, having been induc'd to it by his great Capacity, Vertue, Modeſty, and Affability; and that the Dean and *Barbarino* and ſome other Cardinals ſhould go to *Gichi*'s Cell, to make him an Offer of the Pontificate: And accordingly, not only the Cardinals, who had been nam'd, but all the reſt having had a hint of it, went to wait on *Gichi* with that Offer; and having gone ſoon after to a Scrutiny, *Gichi* was choſen Pope with the unanimous Vote of the whole College; and being asked by the Dean whether he did accept of the Pontificate, he returned no Anſwer, but went to God for Direction, in a Reſolution of ſo great Moment; and being, after a ſhort Ejaculation, inſpir'd to accept of it, he took on him the Name of *Alexander* the Seventh: Obedience as the Cuſtom is,

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was then immediately paid to him in the Chappel of the sacred College; and which being over, he went to an Apartment where a Dinner was provided, and continued there till within two Hours of Night, and having then gone to the Chappel of *Sixtus*, Obedience was yielded to him by all the Cardinals a second Time; and having descended from thence to St. *Peter*'s, where he was seated on the Corner of the Altar of the Apostles, and not in the Middle of it, as other Popes used to be, Obedience was paid to him a third Time by the whole College; with which Ceremony, this holy and glorious Action ended to the great Joy of all People; the Chair of St. *Peter* having been vacant from the seventh of *January* of the Year 1655, untill the seventh of *April* of the same Year.

I have enlarged on this Election, because I had a true Relation of its Proceedings, of which I took a Summary; but have here forborn to mention divers Artifices, which were made use of in that Conclave: God serving himself of human Stratagems, in the Election of his Vicar on Earth.

This Account was written by a bigotted *Spanish* Papist; and who for that reason, did forbear, as he tells us, to publish many of the Tricks of that Conclave, which had come to his Knowledge: However, upon what he has

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has made publick, one may, I think venture to say, that there are no Elections, less of the Spirit of God appears in, than in those of the Popes.

The Exclusion of *Sachetti*, and the Exalting of *Gichi*, in which the *French* do seem to have been out-witted by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*; did cost the Crown of *Spain* so dear, that a certain Minister of that Nation did declare upon it, that if *Spain* would be advis'd by him, *She should never be at the Charge of making any more Popes; for he was sure she might buy them cheaper ready made to her hand, yea tho' they were of a* French *Manufacture.*

And now, considering by what Arts the Popes are, and have for a long time been chosen, can one that knows, that there is a Papal Constitution in force, which nulls and makes void all Elections to the Papacy, in which any Money, Office, or Benefice, has been given or promis'd to any of the Electors, either by the Person who is Elected, or by any of his Friends, tho' he be chosen by the unanimous Voice of the whole College; can any, I say, that know this, possibly think that there has been so much as one true Pope in the Chair of *Rome* since that Constitution was made; or that ever there will be one, whilst it remains in Force, and the Papacy is so high a Dignity: And yet for all that, I do not take that Constitution

to

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to be in much danger of being repealed, for the Popes rather than undergo the reflection which would be made upon its being revok'd, tho' no doubt they do wish it had never been enacted, will endure to be told by their own Consciences, that, by reason of that Constitution, they have no Right to the Chair they sit on, nor to any of its Profits or Privilodges. And when to this is added the uncertainty they are at of their Popes being Bishops, or in any holy Order, which, according to the Doctrine of their Church, depends wholly on the Intentions of the Persons by whom they were ordained, is it possible for a Man of Thought not to stand amaz'd at the *Romish* Doctors dictating, as they do, that an infallible Certainty is absolutely necessary to a belief of the Truths of Religion? since, tho' they were certain to that degree, of the Bishop of *Rome*'s being infallible, they cannot, upon their own Principles, be infallibly certain of any Man's being Bishop of *Rome*: So that unless they think they shall be able with Clamour, and pure dint of Forehead, so to bear down Peoples understandings, as implicitely to Submit to all their Dictates; I cannot see how they can hope to do Religion any Service, by thus slighting that Certainty, and the Evidence of it, which it has; to set up an Idol of Certainty, of which, upon their own Principles, they cannot possibly

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bly be infallibly certain: But this, and their competing their Legendary Miracles, in point of Certainty, with those which were wrought by Christ and his Apostles, are not the only Wounds, tho' they are deep ones, which Popery, to advance it self and its own Credit in the World, has given to the Christian Religion. But to return to the new Pope, whose Case this was visibly, and to the King of *Portugal*.

That King, tho' he was extreamly troubled at his great Friend *Sachetti's* having lost the Pontificate, and had but little reason to hope for more favour from the present Pope, who was a Creature of *Spain's*, than he had met with from his Predecessor: Yet there being several Instances of Popes, who had not been much devoted to the Princes at whose charge they had been exalted; he did resolve forthwith to surprise the new Pope with an Embassy: And having no abler Minister any where, than Don *Francisco de Sousa a Coutinho*, his Ambassador in *France*, at that time; and who had done him great service in that Court; he commanded him to repair immediately to *Rome*, and with as little noise as was possible, with the Character of his Ambassador extraordinary, to congratulate the new Pope's Exaltation, and to yield obedience to him in his Name: And which that Minister having done with all

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possible secrecy and expedition, he appeared in *Rome* with the State and Equipage of an Ambassador, and was there treated as such by the *French* and by all their Creatures in that Court: But notwithstanding that able Minister did stay several Months in *Rome*, and did use all the Diligences that could be thought of, he was never able to procure an Audience of the Pope; neither did that Pope to his dying Day, tho' he lived to the Year 1667, ever grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*; tho' she had only one Bishop, and who was very ancient, during the whole Time of his Pontificate.

What other Diligences were used in *Rome* by *Portugal*, or whether she used any after this there, I have not been able to learn, having seen no Memoirs by which that Affair is carried lower than the Death of King *John*, who dyed in the year 1656, leaving his Subjects ingaged in a War with *Spain*; and leaving an Heir behind him, who, beside that he was young, did not appear well qualified to hold a Crown on his Head, which had been so lately taken by his Father from so powerful a Neighbour. But as *Donna Luisa*, the Queen-Mother, had done most of the Business in her Husband's Life-time; so by having doubled her application and diligence after her Husband's death, she caused him to be but little missed; and the War, both

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both before and after *Spain* had a Peace with *France*, was carried on by her with that ſteadineſs and dexterity, that the *Spaniards*, after the Battle of *Montes claros*, in which they were ſoundly beat by the Valour of the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, were in the year 1666, glad to conclude a Peace with *Portugal*, and to leave the Crown of that Kingdom to the Houſe of *Braganza*, after a continu'd Struggle for Twenty ſix years to have recover'd it: And upon that Peace, of which the King of *England* was the Mediator, all things in *Portugal* having return'd into their old Channel, Pope *Clement* the IXth, tho' in his Affections he was more a *Spaniard* than either of the former, perceiving it was in vain to inſiſt longer on his *Motu proprio* Proviſions; did confirm all the Prelates nam'd by the Crown of *Portugal* to the vacant Biſhopricks, in the uſual manner.

I ſhall here conclude this Tract, with obſerving how incommodious a thing it is, now that Chriſtendom is divided into ſo many diſtinct and independent Civil Governments, and the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf is likewiſe become a great ſecular Prince, for any National Church to be ſubject to that Biſhop: The true and greateſt Intereſts of all the Churches, which are under that Biſhop's eccleſiaſtical, and not under his ſecular Dominion, being conſtantly ſacrificed to the ſecu-

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lar Advantages, and ambitious Aims of the Papacy; and to those of the Princes likewise, who either out of Fear or Love, are the most regarded by the Pope. So that to this Bondage, the Words of St. *Peter* may well be apply'd by all the reformed Churches; *It is a Yoke neither our Fathers nor we are able to bear.* And may God in his great mercy ease all Christian Churches of it, breaking all its politick Bonds asunder; but above all, that of the mercileſs Inquiſition, by which *Portugal* was, on this Occaſion, diverted from thoſe Primitive ways, which would have led her into Freedom and ſound Chriſtian Doctrine, after the Example of the Church of *England.*

FINIS.

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THE APPENDIX.

THE laſt Article in the Concordate betwixt King *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, and the Three Eſtates of *Portugal*.

And in caſe it do ſo happen that I, or any of my Succeſſors, do not obſerve what is promis'd and ſworn in the foregoing Articles; the Three Eſtates of this Kingdom ſhall not be ſo bound, that they may not freely deny Subjection, Vaſſalage, and Obedience to me; without incurring, on that Account, the Crime of Treaſon, or any other ill Caſe.

This Article was left out by the *Spaniards* in all the printed Relations of that Concordate, notwithſtanding it had been printed in it, and at *Madrid* too, in *the Lege Regia of Portugal*, and is in all the Manuſcripts of it. And of this Article the *Portugueſe* Wri-

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ters made great uſe, to vindicate their having taken the Crown from the *Spaniard*, by whom they ſaid thoſe Articles had been all violated; and beſtow'd it on the Houſe of *Braganza*.

The *Portugueſes* and their Friends in *Rome*, having all ſtill inſiſted on the Pope's being bound, after the example of his Predeceſſors, to confirm the King's Nominations to the Biſhopricks in *Portugal*, *as he was the Poſſeſſor of that Kingdom*, ſuppoſe he had no Right to it; did urge the Authority of the Council of *Trent* for the obſervation of that wiſe and ſafe old Cuſtom; the ſame Reſpect being paid by that Council, in the Ninth Chapter of its Twenty Fifth Seſſion, to *the Poſſeſſors of Kingdoms*, as if they were their lawful Kings; where, in an Exception made in favour of Sovereign Princes, in the matter of Patronages, it is ſaid,

> Exceptis Patronatibus, quæ ad Impetatorem, & Reges, *ſeu Regna Poſſidentes*, alioſque ſublimes ac ſupremos Principes Jura Imperii in dominiis ſuis habentes, pertinent.

And that it has been the Pope's conſtant Cuſtom to acknowledge the Prince *that is in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom* to be its King, however he got into the Poſſeſſion of it; is manifeſt from Pope *Gregory* the Tenth having for that, and for no other Reaſon, acknowledg'd

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ledg'd *Rodolph* Emperor of *Germany* in contradiction to *Alfonso* King of *Castile*; and from *Pius* the Second having acknowledg'd *Matthias Corvinus* King of *Hungary* in contradiction to *Frederick*; *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* in contradiction to *Reyne*; and from *Boniface* the Ninth having acknowledg'd *Don John* the First of *Portugal*, King, in contradiction to *Spain*; and King *Henry* the First of *Castile* in contradiction to *Donna Constance* Dutchess of *Lancaster*, and Heiress to King *Peter* the Cruel, who was murther'd by that *Don Henry* his Bastard Brother: And to which Twenty Instances more might be added, to prove this to have been the constant Practice of the *Roman* Chair.

Having in the fore-going History, often mention'd the Way by which the Ancient *Spanish* Church was provided of Bishops, I shall here set that down which was in use in her at the end of the Sixth Century; as I find it enjoyn'd in the Three first Canons of the Collection made by *Martin* Archbishop of *Braga*, who flourish'd in *Portugal* at that Time.

First Canon. *De Electione Episcopi.*

'Non liceat populo electionem facere, 'qui ad Sacerdotium provocantur, sed judi-'cium sit Episcoporum; ut ipsi eum qui or-

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' dinandus eſt probent, ſi in ſermone &
' fide, & in ſpirituali vita, edoctus eſt.

Second Canon. *De ordinando Epiſcopo.*

' Epiſcopum oportet maxime quidem ab
' omni Concilio conſtitui; ſed ſi hoc aut pro
' neceſſitate, aut pro longinquitate itineris
' difficile fuerit; ex omnibus tres colligan-
' tur, & omnium præſentium vel abſentium
' ſubſcriptiones teneantur; & ſic poſtea or-
' dinatio fiat: Hujus autem rei poteſtas in
' omni provincia ad Metropolitanum per-
' tineat Epiſcopum.

Third Canon. *De evacuanda ordinatione quæ abſente Metropolitano fuerit facta.*

' Non debet ordinari Epiſcopus abſque
' conſilio & præſentia Metropolitani Epiſco-
' pi: Adeſſe autem oportet omnes qui ſunt
' in provincia Sacerdotes, quos per ſuam de-
' bet Epiſtolam convocare. Et ſi quidem om-
' nes occurrerint, melius; ſi autem hoc diffi-
' cile fuerit, pluriores oportet occurrere:
' Qui autem non venerint, præſentiam ſui
' per ſuas epiſtolas faciant; & ſic omnium
' facto conſenſu ordinationem Epiſcopi fieri
' oportet. Si autem aliter, præter quod a no-
' bis terminatum eſt, fuerit factum, talem
' ordinationem nihil prævalere decernimus.

' Si

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'Si autem secundum Canones ordinatio Episcopi fuerit facta, & aliquis contra, sua malitia, in aliquo contradixerit, plurimorum consensus obtineat.

By this way, Bishops were, I believe, chosen in the *Spanish*, and in most other Churches, for some Ages after the Laity were excluded, for just and weighty Reasons, from their Election: And this way, I suppose, did continue untill the Temporalties of the Bishops were come to be very great; when the Kings, for that reason, did take the Nomination of all the Bishops within their Dominions into their own hands; only for form's sake, they did send to the Chapters of the Cathedrals to choose the Persons whom they had nam'd, and which being done, they who had been so named and elected, were consecrated by the Metropolitan, and were thereupon in the full Possession of the whole Episcopal Jurisdiction.

But when the Papacy grew powerful, and had spread its Wings over all the West; the Chapters were encouraged by it, on some pretence or other, many times to reject the Ecclesiasticks who had been nam'd to them by the King, and to choose others recommended to them by the Pope: And as this was always ill taken by the Kings, so upon those Elections such great heats were frequently struck up betwixt them and the Chapters,

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Chapters, who had the Pope for the moſt part on their ſide, that the Kings and the Popes at laſt judged it to be for both their Intereſt, to divide the matter betwixt them; And ſo the Nomination of all the Biſhops within their Dominions did remain lodged in the Kings; but they who were nam'd by them, were not to be conſecrated, nor to exerciſe any Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, before they were approved of, and confirmed by the Pope. And as this late Compoſition, was the thing that firſt gave Occaſion to the Papal Paraſites, to maintain, that all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction was deriv'd ſo from the Pope, that it is not lawful for any, tho' they be conſecrated Biſhops, to exerciſe the leaſt Juriſdiction without the Pope's Leave; ſo the Fees at *Rome* for thoſe Papal Confirmations, were ſet ſo high, that they became a conſiderable Branch of the Pontifical Revenue.

And is it not a matter of Amazement, that the Church of *Portugal*, rather than return to a Path which was thus chalked out for her, in her purer Ages, and by her own Primate; ſhould for Six and Twenty years together, be at ſo much Charge and Trouble, and be for above Fifteen years reduc'd to one ſingle old decrepid Biſhop? It was certainly, the Viſion of things, thus unreaſonable, and unaccountably abſurd, that cauſed St. *John*, when he ſaw the Woman who had

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had *Myſtery*, &c. writ on her Forehead, *To wonder with great Admiration.* But the thing that makes the *Portugueſes* ſuffering themſelves to be reduc'd to ſo great ſtraits for want of Biſhops, to be yet the more wonderful, is, That they wanted not, in their own Kingdom, abundance of Inſtances of Eccleſiaſticks, who had been conſecrated Biſhops, and had upon that immediately exerciſed Epiſcopal Juriſdiction in their Dioceſſes, without waiting for any Approbation or Confirmation from *Rome*; witneſs, 1ſt, *Girald* in the time of their firſt Prince the *Conde Don Henrique.* 2dly, *Godinho* in the Reign of King *Alfonſo* the Third. 3dly, *Peter* in the Reign of King *Sancho.* 4thly, *Giraldes* in the Reign of King *Alfonſo* the Second. 5thly, *Miz* in the Reign of King *Dennis.* 6thly, *Oliveira*; and 7thly, *Pereira* in the Reign of King *Alfonſo* the Fourth. 8thly, *Vaſco* in the Reign of King *Fernando*: And even ſince the *Cap: Avaritiæ*, by which the Pope's conſent came to be required to Biſhops exerciſing of their Juriſdiction, *Portugal* had not thought her ſelf ſo tied up by that Conſtitution, as not to act contrary to it, when there was Occaſion: ſo ſince that time, the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction had, without any leave from the Pope, been exerciz'd in the Biſhoprick of *Braga*, of which Church all the forementioned Prelates were Biſhops. 1. By *Don Martin.* 2. By

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By *Don Bernard* in the Reign of King *John* the First. 3. By *Don John* in the Reign of King *John* the Second. 4. By the Infante *Don Edward* in the Reign of his Father King *John* the Third. 5. By *Don Baltazar*; and 6. By *Manuel* in the ſame Reign; and 7. By *Don Antony* in the year 1581, in the Reign of *Philip* the Second: and Dr. *Navar*, who at that time was a Profeſſor in *Conimbra*, did ſtoutly maintain that all Biſhops deriv'd their Juriſdiction immediately from Chriſt, and not from the Pope.

The amazing Part of the Conſtitution of Pope Julius *the Second, which makes void all Elections to the Papacy, procur'd by Promiſes or by any other Bribes.*

'Cum tam divino quam humano jure, in 'ſpiritualibus præcipue, deteſtabiliter ſit 'Simoniæ labes prohibita, & longe magis 'in electione Rom. Pontif. Vicarii Jeſu 'Chriſti D. N. abominabilis ſit, & uni-'verſali Eccleſiæ perniciosa.

'Nos, qui regimini ejuſdem univerſalis 'Eccleſiæ, meritis imparibus, annuente do-'mino, præſidemus; cupientes quantum cum 'Deo poſſumus in præmiſſis, pro tantæ rei 'neceſſitate ac periculi magnitudine, ut te-'nemur in poſterum ſalubriter providere; 'de fratrum noſtrorum ſanctæ Romanæ Ec-'cleſiæ

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' cleſiæ Cardinalium conſilio & unanimi con-
' ſenſu, hac noſtra, *perpetuo valitura*, con-
' ſtitutione, Apoſtolica auctoritate, & de po-
' teſtatis noſtræ plenitudine, ſtatuimus, ordi-
' namus, decernimus & definimus, quod ſi,
' quod Deus pro ſua clementia & ineffabili bo-
' nitate avertat, contigerit poſtquam nos vel
' ſucceſſores noſtros ſucceſſive, ipſe Deus ab
' hujuſmodi univerſalis Eccleſiæ regimine ab-
' ſolverit, humani generis inimico procuran-
' te, & ambitione vel cupiditate ad hoc in-
' clinante ſeu impellente, electionem Roma-
' ni Pontificis ab eo quem elegi contigerit,
' vel ab aliquo ſeu aliquibus de cœtu Cardi-
' nalium quomodo libet votum dantibus per
' ſimoniacam hæreſim, in dando, promitten-
' do, vel recipiendo pecunias, bona cujuſque
' generis, caſtra, officia, vel beneficia, ſeu
' promiſſiones & obligationes, commiſſam
' per ſe vel alium ſeu alios quomodocunq;
' & qualitercunq; etiam in duarum partium,
' vel omnium Cardinalium unanimi concor-
' dia, quomodolibet etiam per viam aſſumpti-
' onis unanimiter, nemine diſcrepante, etiam
' ſine ſcrutinio factæ celebrari vel fieri, non
' ſolum *hujuſmodi electio, vel aſſumptio eo ipſo*
' *nulla exiſtat, nullam eidem ſic electo vel aſ-*
' *ſumpto adminiſtrandi in ſpiritualibus & tem-*
' *poralibus facultatem tribuat*, ſed etiam con-
' tradictum ſic electum, vel aſſumptum de
' ſimoniaca labe a quocunq; Cardinali qui

' eidem

'eidem electioni interfuerit, opponi & excipi poſſit ſicut de vera & indubitabili hæreſi, ita quod a nullo pro Romano Pontifice habeatur, quinimo ipſe ſic electus a priore ſuo Cardinalatus, & alio quocunque honore Eccleſiis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis & Patriarchalibus, monaſteriis, dignitatibus, & alijs quibuſcunq; beneficiis, & penſionibus, quæ tunc obtinebat in titulum vel commendam aut alias quomodocunq;, eo ipſo, *abſq; alia declaratione*, privatus exiſtat, & idem electus non Apoſtolicus, ſed Apoſtaticus & tanquam ſimoniacus & hæreſiarcha, & ad prædicta omnia & ſingula, perpetuo inhabilis habeatur, & ſit.

'Nec hujusmodi ſimoniaca electio per ſubſequentem ipſius inthronizationem, ſeu temporis curſum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium adorationem ſeu obedientiam, ullo unquam tempore convaleſcat, *&c.*

This perpetual Conſtitution was publiſhed in the year 1505, and it was well for him that made it, that it was not in being when he was choſen Pope; for if it had, his Election would have been palpably nulled by it. *Promiſes of rich Benefices and Offices, and the Diſtribution of a vaſt ſum of Money among the Cardinals*, having been the ſteps by which he had viſibly aſcended the Pontifical Chair; as we are told by *Guichardin*, and the Council

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cil of *Piſa*, which was aſſembled by the Emperor and by the *French* King, to call *Julius* to an Account for his Perjury, and other great miſdemeanours: And to the driving of this great Bargain *Julius* was encouraged, it is like, by his Predeceſſor *Alexander* the Sixth having ſaid among his familiar Friends; *That the Papacy was a Benefice which had always been bought and ſold cheap by unskilful Men, who underſtood not its true Value; it being one of the things in the World, that could not be purchaſed too dear.* The thing therefore that mov'd *Julius* to ſhut the back door of *Simony*, by which he himſelf had entered, againſt all that came after him; was boldly to have born down the certain notice, and the loud clamour, which was every where at that time, of his having been Simoniacally choſen Pope. So Uſurpers after that they are in the Throne, do take care to have the ſteps remov'd by which they aſcended, leaſt others ſhould make uſe of them to their prejudice.

The Canon of The Council of Trent, *which neceſſarily hinders all Roman Catholicks from being infallibly certain of the Pope's being a Biſhop, or in any holy Order.*

'Si quis dixerit, in miniſtris dum ſacra-'menta conficiunt & conferunt, non requiri 'inten-

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' intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit
' Ecclesia; Anathema sit.

Now if without a Revelation they cannot possibly be certain of the intention of the Bishop by whom the Pope was ordained a Priest, or a Bishop: How can they be infallibly certain of any of their Popes being in holy Orders, or indeed of any other Bishop or Priest being in them? So that the Pope is either fallible in having made this Canon; or according to it, none can be infallibly certain of his being a Bishop, or so much as a Christian.

These and Twenty things more, do cause it to be no easy matter, to find a Rock any where, for the *Roman* Infallibility to stand upon, (for on a Rock they will have it to stand,) unless it be in the Foreheads of its Champions.

FINIS.

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A

DISCOVERY

OF SOME

Groſs Miſtakes

IN THE

Roman Martyrology

Reform'd, Publiſh'd, and Authoriz'd by Pope *Gregory* the XIIIth.

By *Michael Geddes*, L. L. D. and *Chancellor* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

Ye worſhip ye know not what. St. *Paul.*

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THE

PREFACE.

WERE *the Biſhops of* Rome *infallible in any Matters of Fact, there could not be any Miſtakes in the* Martyrologies *which are publiſhed and authorized by them; there being no Caſe wherein Miſtakes are of worſe Conſequence to Religion: For as ſhould the Popes, who do exhort their Sheep to pray to all the Saints which are nam'd in their* Martyrologies, *be ſo miſtaken as to name that for a Saint in them,* which is nothing in the World, *they would be acceſſory to their Sheeps being guilty of Idolatry, in their own Notion of that Crime; ſo ſhould they, in them, miſtake* Things *for* Perſons, *or* Heathens *for* Chriſtians, *or* Hereticks *for* Orthodox, *they would be acceſſory to their praying to* Things *and* Perſons, *to which Prayers ought not to be made, ſuppoſing it to be lawful to pray to Angels and Saints.*

And that there are ſeveral ſuch Miſtakes in the preſent Reform'd Roman Martyrology, *is, I think, demonſtrated in the following Treatiſe: Neither do I in the leaſt doubt, but that if any who have more Leiſure, and more* Martyrologies, *and a greater Inſight into* Roman *Antiquities, than I have, would diligently apply themſelves to it, they would be able to diſcover an hundred more ſuch Miſtakes in that Book: And*

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the Truth is, the Reaſon why I do offer this Handful of them to the Publick, is, to encourage ſome who are poſſeſs'd of thoſe Advantages, to make uſe of them for that purpoſe; and which would be a great Service to the Church of England, *and to her true Chriſtian Worſhip of God only, in expoſing the Dotages and Frauds which do ſtill attend all ſorts of Creature-worſhip, and in diſcrediting the Papal Authority, by which moſt of them are authoriz'd, and the reſt are tolerated and encouraged: So we ſee the Prophet* Elijah *judged no way to be ſo effectual to cure Mankind of their ſenſual Inclination to an Idolatrous Worſhip, as the expoſing of its Folly to Scorn; and eſpecially when its Followers are become Argument-proof; as the* Roman *Church is, by Experience, known to be: More than enough having been publiſh'd by learned Proteſtants, to have convinc'd her of her being involved in that forbidden Way of Worſhip, if unanſwerable Arguments could have done it.*

A DIS-

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A

DISCOVERY

OF SOME

Groſs Miſtakes

IN THE

Roman Martyrology, &c.

POpe *Gregory* the Thirteenth, having employed ſome learned Mathematicians to reform the *Kalender*; after that was done, he employ'd ſome Antiquaries to reform the *Roman Martyrology*, which was in great Confuſion at that Time; and which being finiſh'd, he commanded it to be publiſh'd: Authorizing it with the following Bull, which is always printed in its Front.

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Gregorius Papa XIII.

Ad perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

EMendato jam Kalendario, curavimus (quod antea quoque decreveramus) Romanum Martyrologium nonnulis in locis librariorum, typographorumque negligentia mendosum, per viros eruditos, ad fidem historiæ, quæ rerum gestarum, personarum, locorum, temporum veritate continetur, adhibitis etiam codicibus vetustioribus atq; emendatioribus, corrigi; correctumq; & multis in locis auctum, proposita etiam atq; explicata Epactarum, Lunæq; singulis diebus numerandæ ratione, edi; vetustissimoq; Ecclesiæ more in Choro legendum proponi; ad Dei Gloriam, ad Sanctorum ipiorum, quorum memoria celebratur, laudem; ad eorum qui legunt, quiq; audiunt, fructum. Habet enim Sanctorum innocentiæ, charitatis, fortitudinis, cæterarumq; virtutum commemoratio, stimulos quosdam acerrimos, quibus tum maxime incitamur, cum illorum propositis exemplis, nostram desidiam agnoscimus, quamq; procul ab illorum laude & perfectione absumus, cogitamus. Mandamus igitur omnibus Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, cæteriſq; Eccleſiis,

Mor-

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‘ Monaſteriis, Conventibus, Ordinibus, ſive
‘ ſecularibus ſive regularibus, quibuſcunq;
‘ præfectis, ut in peragendo divino in Choro
‘ officio, omni alio Martyrologio amoto, hoc
‘ tantum noſtro utantur, *nulla re addita, mu-*
‘ *tata, adempta.* Si quos alios habuerint
‘ Sanctos, in ſuis Eccleſiis aut locis celebrari
‘ ſolitos, eos in hunc librum ne inferant;
‘ ſed ſeparatim deſcriptos habeant, eumque
‘ illis locum atq; ordinem tribuant, qui regulis
‘ hic deſcriptis traditur. Eadem etiam iis
‘ qui in Horis Eccleſiaſticis privatim Marty-
‘ rologio uti voluerint, (quod quidem mag-
‘ nopere cuperemus ut omnes facere vellent)
‘ mandamus: omnibuſq; aliorum Martyrolo-
‘ giorum omnium publice privatimq; in Ec-
‘ cleſiaſticis Horis uſu interdicimus. Typo-
‘ graphis etiam prohibemus, ne in poſterum
‘ hoc noſtrum *ulla in re minutum, auctum,*
‘ *mutatum, edere audeant.* Siquis aliter quam
‘ *hoc noſtro decreto comprehenſum eſt, fecerit;*
‘ *noverit ſe in Dei omnipotentis, beatorumq;*
‘ *Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli Indignationem*
‘ *incurſurum.* Datum Romæ apud Sanctum
‘ Petrum, ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die 14. Ja-
‘ nuarii, MDLXXXIV. Pontificatus noſtri
‘ Anno duodecimo.

Ant. Buccapadulius.

In this Bull, Pope *Gregory* commands his *Reform'd Martyrology*, and no other, to be uſ-

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ed *in all Churches and Chappels*; and wishes that all would use it privately too in their *Ecclesiastical Hours*; and having strictly forbid the adding of any thing to it, or the changing, or leaving any thing out of it; he denounceth, all that shall presume to do so, *to have incurr'd the Indignation of Almighty God, and that of the Apostles St.* Peter *and St.* Paul; which that Pope would not certainly have done, if he had not judged that *Martyrology* to be free from all Errours, that might mislead his Sheep in their Worship.

And yet, notwithstanding this *Martyrology* being arm'd with so terrible a Thunderbolt, and its being so much against the Grain of the *Roman* Church to acknowledge her self, or her Popes, to have committed any Error, Two who were then named in that *Martyrology* as Saints, have been since left out of it; and that many more ought to be, for having no better Title to Saintship than those two had, will I believe be manifest from the following Instances.

On the First of *January*, the first Saint in the *Roman reform'd Martyrology*, is Saint *Almachius*, and who is said there to have suffer'd Martyrdom in *Rome*, at the Command of *Alipius* Præfect of that City, having been kill'd by the Gladiators, for having said, *this Day is the Octaves of the Lord's*

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Lord's Day; ceaſe from the Superſtition of Idols, and from polluted Sacrifices.

Now as this *Almachius* is not nam'd in the ancient *Corbey Martyrology*, nor in that of *Luca*, publiſh'd by *Franciſcus Maria Florentinus*; ſo in that of *Antwerp*, ſet forth by *Bollandus*, there is no mention of him; but in his Place there is one St. *Corona*, and who is next after him in the *Roman Martyrology*; and to that St. *Corona* the forementionn'd Speech, in the very ſame Words, is attributed; and he is alſo ſaid to have ſuffer'd Martyrdom for it, in the ſame Place, and after the ſame Manner.

It is not eaſy to gueſs, how St. *Corona* came to be joſtl'd out of his Poſt of Honour, and to be robbed of his Speech, by St. *Almachius*; unleſs it were by ſome ignorant Scribe's having taken the Word *Almanack* before the *Kalender* for the Name of a Man; and having put him in the firſt place in the Year becauſe he found that Word there, the forementioned Speech did fall to him of courſe, as belonging to the firſt Saint of the year, whoever he was: But whether that Speech was made by St. *Corona*, or by St. *Almachius*; or whether he that made it, did ſuffer Martyrdom for it, under *Dioclefian*, or under *Honorius*; and whether St. *Corona* be a Perſon or not; in none of which the Learned are agreed; it will not be an eaſy task to prove, that the firſt of

January

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January was called the *Octaves of the Lord's Day*, as it is in that Speech, so early as the latest of those two Dates. I shall here only mention, that *Macrobius* writes positively, *That among the* Romans *it was not lawful to put any to Death, or to punish any corporally*, upon the *Kalends*, or the first Day of any Month.

But tho' an old *Almanack* is proverbially the most useless thing that is known, yet it is not *nothing in the World*; as we shall see anon a great many are, who are recorded as Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*.

On the Second of *January*, in the reform'd *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *At* Antioch, *the Passion of St.* Isidore *Bishop*; and after, on the same day, it is said, of St. *Siradon* Bishop.

Here we have two fantastical Saints, by a blunder, created out of one true Saint; who was *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch*: And the ancient *Martyrologies* do discover, both the true Reading, and the Origin of this Mistake; for in the *Corbey*, and in that of *Luca*, and in that of the Queen of *Sweden*, and in that of *Antwerp*, on this day, it is said, *In* Antioch, *of* Syridoni *Bishop of that place.*

That is in Antioch *of* Syria (to distinguish it from the *Antioch* in *Pisidia*,) *of* Domnus *Bishop of that City.* Now it is certain, that there was a famous Bishop of *Antioch*, of the Name

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Name of *Domnus*, and who was exalted to that Chair in the place of *Paulus Samoſſetanus*; whereas that City never had a Biſhop of the Name of *Iſidore*, or of that of *Siridon*.

On the Sixth of *January* it is ſaid, *At* Geris *in* Egypt, of *Saint* Nilammonis, *&c.*

As on this day there is no ſuch Saint as *Nilammon*, in the ancient *Luca Martyrology*, nor in that of *Corbey*, nor in the Queen of *Sweden*'s; ſo I find no ſuch place as *Geris* in any of my Dictionarys, tho' *Baronius* ſays it ſtands near Fifty Furlongs from *Peluſium*; and whether *Nile* and *Ammon*, two well known Names in *Egypt*, having been ſome way or other blundered together, did not give both Being and a Name to this Saint *Nilammon*, I ſhall leave to the enquiry of the Criticks.

On the Twenty Fourth of *January*, in the Reform'd *Roman Martyrology*, authoriz'd by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, it was ſaid, *In the ſame City*, (that is in *Antioch*) of St. *Zynorides* a Martyr.

This Saint and Martyr had kept the Place which was given her by Pope *Gregory*, if it had not been for ſome ſpiteful *French* Criticks; who having ſtarted at her Name, when they met with it in the Reform'd *Martyrology*, did write to *Rome* to know where that Saint had been met with; and having had word ſent them of the Place, it did

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did plainly appear, that *Zynorides* was not the Name of a Man, or of a Woman, but did only signify *a Pair* or *a Couple*; and this blunder was so palpable, that poor *Zynorides*, was not, with the Shield Pope *Gregory* had given her, able to maintain her ground long; having been left out in all the following Editions of that *Martyrology* in *Latin*: And so in that which I have by me, printed at *Antwerp*, with *Barodius*'s Notes upon it, in the year 1589, *Zynorides* is not nam'd; only in the Index she holds her ground, that having been made to the first Impression of that *Martyrology* under *Gregory*.

But in the Reform'd *Roman Martyrology* translated into *Portuguese*, and printed in *Conimbra*, in the year 1592; tho' that was Three years after her annihilization at *Rome*; *Zynorides* keeps her place: The *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* being so much truer Papists than those at *Rome*, that rather than acknowledge a Pope to have committed so gross an Error, in a matter of so great importance to Religion, they will, with wrangling Reasons and false History, maintain it till Doom's Day: So that tho' at *Rome* St. *Zynorides*, or St. *Couple*, is *nothing in the World*, she will in all likelihood, be pray'd to by the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, as long as they pray to any Saint.

On

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On the 29th of *January*, in the *Reform'd Roman Martyrology*, it was said, *At* Brugis, *of St.* Sulpitius Severus *Bishop, the Disciple of St.* Martin, *conspicuous for Virtue and Learning.*

This virtuous and learned Saint, tho' he maintain'd the Post he was put into by Pope *Gregory*, near Threescore years; was at last dislodged by Pope *Urban* the Eighth, who, not having the fear of Pope *Gregory's* Thunderbolt before his Eyes, commanded this Saint to be expung'd out of the *Roman Martyrology.*

But, as St. *Severus*, and *Zynorides*, are both still in the *Martyrology* in *Portuguese*; so the Popes will, rather than by a publick Act prohibit the praying to them, to the discredit of the Papal Authority, wink at their Sheeps praying to that which they have silently own'd to be *nothing in the World*; and to one, whom they have expung'd out of their *Martyrology* for having been an Heretick.

On the 16th of *February*, in the *Reform'd Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *In* Egypt, *of St.* Julianus *the Martyr, with other Five Thousand.*

Now, if this is the *Julianus* who was *Pamphilus*'s Companion, as it is undoubtedly, Pope *Gregory* has mightily encreased his Company; they that suffer'd in *Egypt* with him having

having been but Five in Number; and who having been Soldiers, the contracted Word *Mil:* for *Milites*, was taken for *Mille*, or a Thousand. So that unless the Creatures of a Blunder are something, here are Four thousand Nine hundred and Ninety five, pray'd to as Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*, who are *nothing in the World.*

And ought not a Pope's having authoriz'd such gross Errors, and declar'd those to have incurr'd the Indignation of Almighty God that shall correct them; to teach all his Successors, not to be (after *Gregory*'s Example) so hasty in thundering out of Curses, untill they are more certain of their Chair's being infallible?

On the 4th of *March*, it is said, *At* Rome, *in the* Appian Way, *of Nine hundred Martyrs.*

This number is much lessen'd in the ancient *Antwerp Martyrology*, in which it is said, *At* Rome, *of Ten Martyrs.*

On the 14th of *March*, it is said, *At* Rome, *the Birth-day of Forty seven holy Martyrs, who were baptiz'd by the blessed Apostle St.* Peter *in the* Mamertine *Prison.*

I shall leave it to those who have Skill in Architecture, to judge whether that Edifice could be built for a Prison; and shall be glad to know of those who are well read in the *Greek* and *Latin* Descriptions of the City of *Rome*,

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Rome, whether they have ever met with a Priſon, or any other Place in that City, which was call'd the *Mamertine*; or, before the dark Ages of Legends, did read of any Priſons being in that part of that City.

On the 15th of *March* it is ſaid, *At* Cæſarea *in* Cappodocia, *the Paſſion of* Longinus, *who pierc'd our Lord's ſide with a Spear.*

The *Greek* word Λόγχη, or *Spear*, having been taken by ſome ignorant *Latin*, for the Soldier's Name who pierc'd our bleſſed Lord's ſide with a Spear, did, I conceive, give Perſonality and Saintſhip, with the Name of *Longinus* to this Saint.

On the 23d of *April*, it is ſaid, *The Birth day of St.* George *the Martyr, whoſe illuſtrious Martyrdom the Church of God venerates among the Crowns of the Martyrs.*

The Acts of St. *George* were condemned as Fictions above Twelve hundred years ago; and whether the Acts of that Saint, which are now extant, be the ſame or not, it will not be eaſy for any that reads them, to doubt of St. *George*'s having been, from a Symbol of Chriſtian Valour, metamorphoſed by Ignorance into a Man, and a Chriſtian Champion. The ſame may, I believe, be ſaid of St. *Chriſtopher*, and St. *Katherine*, who are both in the *Roman Martyrology*, and do make a great Figure in the *Roman* Churches.

On

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On the 29th of *May*, it is said, *In* Umbria, *the Passion of one thousand five hundred and twenty five Holy Martyrs.*

This great Battalion is not mention'd in the *Luca* nor *Corbey*, nor any other ancient *Martyrology*; nor no where else, but in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Venantius*: Which Acts *Baronius* himself, on another occasion, acknowledges to *be so full of Blunders, as to want a Censure, and not a small Correction.*

And if such a Legend as this, can by its single Authority advance One thousand five hundred and twenty five to the Titles of Saints and Martyrs in the *Roman Martyrology*; that Book had need to be arm'd by the Popes with Thunderbolts, to help its own Authority to any Reverence.

On the 31st of *May*, it is said, *Of St.* Petronilla *a Virgin, the Daughter of St.* Peter *the Apostle, who having slighted the Marriage of* Flaccus *a Nobleman, did obtain three Days to consider of it; and who having during that Time given herself up wholely to Fasting and Prayer, on the third Day, as soon as she had received Christ's Sacrament, she yielded up the Ghost.*

Now this St. *Petronilla*, which by the way does not sound much like a *Jewish* Name, must either have been born a Year after St. *Peter* was an Apostle; or she must have been Forty years old when the noble *Flaccus*

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cus was so charm'd with her Beauty, that he was wild to have had her for his Wife: But the *Roman* Catholicks, as much as they venerate St. *Petronilla*, will not, to help to make out her Story, allow St. *Peter*, after he was call'd to be an Apostle, to have cohabited with her Mother: Nor indeed ought this Saint to be made use of as an Argument to prove that Cohabitation, since whoever reads her Story, may by divers Marks plainly discover her to have had no other Parent but an ignorant and superstitious Invention, the fruitful Mother of many strange Births.

On the 2nd of *June* it is said, *On the Mountain of* Ararath, *the Passion of Ten thousand holy Martyrs, who were crucified.*

This Army is not mention'd in the *Luca* nor in the *Corbey*, nor in any other ancient *Martyrology*, if we may believe *Radulph* Bishop of *Tongres*; and who for that Reason declared honestly, that *until he saw better Evidence for them, he should look on them as a fabulous Invention.* And so skilful a Geographer was the Deviser of this Legend, that the Mountains of *Ararath* are planted by him in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*; which Blunder *Baronius* thinks he has cover'd sufficiently, by telling us out of *Pliny*, that there was a place call'd *Alexandria* near the River *Tigris*: It is very true there was, but as that

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Alexandria was but little, if it was at all, known in the West, in the Legendary Ages; so *Tigris* is not so short a River, that if a Mountain and a City stand upon it, they must needs be near to one another; as in truth that Mountain and City were not, but at a great Distance from each other. This shift of *Baronius*'s, may very well serve for a Sample, of the wrigling Ways that are taken by the Popish Champions, to palliate the grossest Blunders in Geography, History, and Chronology; when they cannot be owned without doing some prejudice to their Cause.

On the same day it is said, *At* Samaria, *of One thousand four hundred and eighty holy Martyrs, under* Cosbroe *King of the* Persians.

These Martyrs are not mention'd in the *Luca*, nor in any other Ancient *Martyrology* that I have seen: And upon a strict Enquiry, I do very much suspect, that in *Cosbroe*'s Time the People of *Samaria* will be found to have been *Jews*, for the most part; and that it may be found that *Cosbroe* never had any power in that City, to put either Christians or *Jews* to Death in it.

On the Ninth of *July*, it is said, *At* Rome, *at the Drop that is still Dropping, the Birth-day of the Holy Martyr* Zeno, *and of Ten thousand two hundred and three more.*

Now

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Now in the Ancient *Luca* and *Corbey Martyrologies* it is said, *At* Tomis, *of St.* Zenonis; and who is said to have had but Five Companions: And in a very Ancient Manuscript, he is said to have had but One, whose Name was *Mimia*; and who, in the *Martyrologies* where *Zenonis* is said to have Five Companions, is still the next after him.

And now that the Two last Letters in *Zenonis*, and the *M* and other Letters in *Mimia*, having been taken for *Numerals*, did make up this Army of Ten thousand two hundred and three Martyrs, none can doubt, that knows how common such Mistakes have been in *Martyrologies*. And as we have had one Instance of it already, so we shall have another and greater Instance of it anon, and which is acknowledg'd both by the *Roman Martyrology*, and by *Baronius* himself; tho' I do not doubt, but that Number's having referr'd to a *Greek*, and not to a *Roman* Army, caus'd him to be more impartial in his Judgment of it than he would have been otherwise.

On the 24th of *July*, it is said, *At* Amiternum *in* Vestinis, *the Martyrdom of Fourscore and three Soldiers.*

Now from the ancient *Martyrologies* it is manifest, that the having here mistaken the

Contradiction of *Milliaria* Miles, for *Milites* Soldiers, did raise this good Company; and which having been thus rais'd, *Florentinus* and *Felix*, were, for being two lucky Names, preferr'd to be their Commanders. For in the *Luca Martyrology* on this Day, it is said, *In the City of* Amiternum, *Fourscore and three Miles from the City of* Rome, *in the Salutary Way*, *Of St.* Victorinus: And in the Queen of *Sweden's Martyrology* on this day, it is said, *In the City of* Amiternum, *Fourscore and three Miles from the City of* Rome, *Of St.* Victorinus: And in the *Corbey Martyrology*, it is said, *In the City of* Amiternum, *Fourscore and three Miles from the City of* Rome, *in the Salutary Way*, *The Birth day of St.* Victorinus *the Martyr.*

Now here, as I observ'd in another Place, we have *Fourscore and three* Italian *Miles* canoniz'd, and made *Fourscore and three Soldiers*, *Saints and Martyrs*; and have likewise their Captain and Lieutenant's Names given us by *Baronius.*

On the 27th of *July*, it is said, *At* Ephesus, *the Birth-day of the Seven Sleepers.*

These seven Saints having hid themselves in a Cave, in the heat of the *Decian* Persecution, and fallen asleep in it, did not wake again untill the latter End of the Empire of *Theo-*

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Theodosius Junior: when they had slept about two hundred Years.

Now they that can believe a Man may take so long a Nap as this, in a Cave, may believe if they please that there were Seven such Sleepers; and if they will, they may pray to them too, as Saints, for having slept so long; for that is the best Thing I have seen said of them.

On the 1st of *August*, it is said, *At* Rome *the Passion of the holy Virgins*, Faith, Hope, *and* Charity, *who acquir'd the Crown of Martyrdom under* Adrian *the Emperor.*

Now considering that these Three Christian Virtues, were never any where very common proper Names; is it not strange that three Virgins, who bore those three Names, should be martyr'd in the same Place, and on the same Day? But the Heathen *Roman Kalender* does, I think, help us to some Light as to this Matter, by telling us, that the First of *August* was the Festivity of *Hope* among the *Romans*; Now if it was so, might not Christian Superstition, finding *Hope* in Possession of that Day, joyn *Faith* and *Charity* with her; and which coming afterwards to be mistaken for the Names of Three Persons, the making them to have been Three Virgins and Martyrs was very easy. And in truth, if those Three

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Virtues are consider'd, not as Persons, but as Christian Graces, they may be truly said to have suffer'd, and still to suffer Martyrdom in *Rome*.

On the 5th of *August*, it is said, Augustæ Vindelicorum, *The Birth-day of St.* Afra, *who when she was a* Pagan, *was converted to Christ by the holy* Narcissus, *a Bishop; and was baptiz'd with all her House, and for the Confession of Christ was committed to the Fire.*

We have already had Saints made out of *Nothing*, and out of *Miles*, and out of *Emblems*; we are now come to a *Female Saint* made out of a *Male*. For, on this Day, in the *Luca*, and in the Queen of *Sweden*'s *Martyrologies*, it is said, *In* Civitate Augusta Passio Sancti Afri. And in *Notokerus*'s *Martyrology*, *In* Augusta Euphratensi, Nativitas Sancti Afri. In all which, *Afer* is said to have been a Man, and in the last he is said to have suffer'd Martyrdom at *Augusta Euphratensis* in *Syria*, and not at *Augusta Vindelicorum*, or *Ausburgh* in *Germany*: And so *Augusta* in *Syria*, having been taken for *Augusta* in *Germany*, St. *Afer* was translated to *Ausburg*, and was there turn'd into a Woman; and notwithstanding that City's great Distance from *Jerusalem*, was still said to have been converted to the Faith, by *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; as St. *Afer* of *Syria*

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ria was: Such Blunders as theſe, were too common in thoſe unlearned and fraudulent Ages, for to be wonder'd at; the ſuperſtitious Credulity of the People, having made the *Monks* not to be at any Pains to make their Lies look probable, or to avoid the committing of the groſſeſt Blunders: And ſo after having turn'd St. *Afer* a Man of *Syria*, into a *German* Woman, they quickly found a Mother for her that kept Three waiting Maids.

For, on the Twelfth of *Auguſt*, in the *Roman Martyrology*, it is ſaid, *At* Ausburg, *of St.* Hillaria, *the Mother of the Bleſſed Martyr* Afra; *who together with her Three Maids* Digna, Euprepia *and* Eunomia, *was committed to the Fire by the Perſecutors, for the Faith of Chriſt, as ſhe was lying at her Daughter's Tomb.*

But now, tho' both in the *Luca* and in the *Corbey Martyrologies*, St. *Hillaria* is mention'd on this Day; it does not appear that ſhe was any thing akin to St *Afra*: And tho' her Legend agrees with that other's ſo far, that it is plain they do both ſpeak of the ſame Perſon, yet it gives a very different Account of her: For this St. *Hillaria*, had her Husband *Claudius*, a Tribune, thrown into a River with a Stone about his Neck, and had her two Sons, *Jaſon* and *Maurus*, with Seventy Soldiers, put to death in *Rome*, by the Emperor *Numerianus*;

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merianus; and having buried her Two Sons in a Farm of her own, she gave up the Ghost at their Tomb, and was buried there by her waiting Maids. Neither does the *Roman Martyrology*'s giving this St. *Hillaria* another Day, mend the Matter at all, as to St. *Afra*, and her Mother and Maids. And thus both *Rome* and *Syria* were robb'd by *Ausburg*, to make her St. *Afra*, and to trim up a Legend for her; and which Legend is very much improv'd by the *Germans*, who have not only given her Mother's Maids Three fine Names, but have made both her and them Martyrs.

On the 13th of *August*, in the Reform'd *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *Of blessed* Hippolitus *the Martyr, who for the Glory of a Confession under* Valerian *the Emperor, after other Torments, had his Feet tied to the Necks of wild Horses, and being cruelly dragg'd thro' Thorns and Briars, did, with a Body torn all to Pieces, yield up the Ghost.*

And on the same Day, it is immediately after said, *Blessed* Concordia *his Nurse, did also suffer Martyrdom.*

Now let any one compare the Story of *Hippolitus* the Son of *Theseus*, and the Manner of his Death, with what has been here said of St. *Hippolitus*; and also know, that on this very Day, that *Hippolitus*'s Memory was

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was celebrated in *Rome* by the *Pagans*; and how great a Part a Nurſe bears in the Tragedy of that *Hippolitus*, and which on this Day might probably be acted among the Heathens; and after that, if he can, let him not ſuſpect, the *Hippolitus* and the Nurſe, which are here recorded as Saints, to be *Hippolitus* the Son of *Theſeus*, and the Nurſe which bears a great Part in his Tragedy: And the truth is, this St. *Hippolitus*, and St. *Spes* or *Hope*, being in the *Roman Martyrology*, on the ſame Day on which the *Roman Pagans* celebrated their Feſtivitys; inclines me to think, that if we had but a full Heathen *Roman Kalender*, to collate with the preſent *Roman Martyrology*, a great many, beſides theſe Two, would be found in them both, on the ſame days of the Month; and who, in all likelihood, were at firſt brought into that *Martyrology*, by the ſame Conduct, which the *Jeſuites* are ſaid to make uſe of in *China* at this time, to facilitate the making of Proſelytes: And I ſhall leave it to the enquiry of the Criticks in *Roman* Antiquities, whether *Pætus* and *Soranus*, two noble *Romans*, of ſo eminent a Probity, *That Virtue it ſelf was ſaid to be cut off with them*, having been put to Death in *Rome* by *Nero*, in his Twelfth Year; might not give Occaſion to the Story of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*'s having been put to Death in *Rome* by *Nero* in that Year; as the following Inſcription

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tion upon a Stone in *Rome*, found there not many Years ago, and in the very Place where a Monument of *Simon Magus* being worshipped there, was said to stand,

Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum,

does seem to have given Occasion, to the Story of *Simon Magus* being worshipped in *Rome*, and of all that is said concerning that Magician in that Place, and of his contending there with St. *Peter*.

On the 11th of *September*, it is said, *In* Egypt, *Of* Paphnutius, *a Bishop*, &c.

I shall leave it to those that have Leisure and Conveniencies, to enquire, whether this *Paphnutius*, was not a *Miletian* Heretick; and whether *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Laodicea*, on the Second of *November*, was not an *Arian*; and whether Pope *Felix*, on the Twenty ninth of *July*, was not a Schismatick; and whether *Cletus*, on the Twenty sixth of *April*, and *Anacletus* on the thirteenth of *July*, be not one and the same Man; and whether there was ever any such a Person as King *Lucius*, who is on the Third of *December*; and whether the Martyrs *Quartus* and *Quintus*, on the Tenth of *May*, might not spring from *Quinquatrus*, a famous Heathen *Roman* Festival.

On the 1st of *October*, it is said, *At* Cologn, *Of St.* Ursula, *and her Companions*, &c.

Tho'

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Tho' the Number of St. *Urſula*'s Companions is not ſet down here, they are nevertheleſs known by every Body to be Eleven thouſand, taking in their Captain, in all the *Roman* Legends.

In moſt of the ancient *Latin Martyrologies* on this Day, it is ſaid, in *Nicomedia*, The Birth-day of *Daſus*, *Zotticus*, and *Gagus*, with Twelve thouſand more.

Now theſe Two great Armies of Martyrs being both commemorated on the ſame Day; and that of *Nicodemia* being mention'd alone in moſt of the ancient *Latin Martyrologies*; and, in the *Latin Martyrologies*, in which they are both mention'd, that of *Nicomedia* being reduc'd to a very ſmall Number; inclines me to think, that the *Cologn* Army was by a Weſtern Emulation, ſet up againſt the *Nicomedian*; and that the *Latins*, tho' they did keep to the ſame Day, did, to diſguiſe the matter, not take juſt the ſame Number, nor did make their Army of the ſame Sex. And if this be the true Caſe of the Eleven thouſand Virgins, as I am very apt to think it is, St. *Urſula* does now very far exceed the *Nicodemian* Army in Number; that Army being juſtly reduc'd by *Ado*, *Uſardus*, *Mauralitius*, *Petrus Natalis*, and alſo by the *Roman Martyrology*, and by *Baronius* himſelf, from *Twelve thouſand*, to the low Number of *Twelve Soldiers*; and

and whose contracted Word *Mil.* for *Milites*, or *Soldiers*, having been taken for *Mille* or *Thousands*, did, they own, give Occasion to this great false Muster, as we have seen the same Mistake has done before.

But whether the mistaking the Number of that *Nicomedian* Army, did give rise to Saint *Ursula*'s, or not; it is now known certainly, that the two strong old Evidences of the Legend of the *Eleven thousand Virgins*, are all altogether groundless; which Evidences were, the vast Multitude *of Womens Bones* which were found in the Burying-place, near to the City of *Cologn*; and the Earth of that Burying-place still throwing out the Bodies of Children, that were buried in it, tho' they were laid never so deep, as Bodies, which if they remain'd, would reflect on the Virginity of those Martyrs: For *Mazerey*, a Roman Catholick, tells us, *That in the Tombs said to belong to those Martyrs, were found the Bones both of Men and Children.* For ever since the first Dawnings of Idolatry in the *Roman* Church, where any great Number of Bones happen'd to be found together any where, out of Churches and Church-Yards, a Legend was presently writ upon them; and which having made them all to be the Bones of Martyrs, and reported some Miracles they were invented to have wrought, they were forthwith sacredly laid

up

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up in Shrines, and venerated as Relicks; and as ſuch Burying-places have been the Mines, out of which that immenſe Treaſure of Bone-Relicks in the *Roman* Church has been chiefly dug; ſo it is more than probable, thoſe rich Mines, were the Burying-places of Heathens, and of the worſt and baſeſt ſort of People among them.

To conclude, that Creature Worſhip, in all its Branches, ſhould be ſtill oppreſſed with a Multitude of ſuch groſs Blunders, is not at all to be wonder'd at; for beſides that judicial Blindneſs, which is inflicted on that great human Preſumption as a moſt juſt Puniſhment; Superſtition, the darkeſt of all Human Weakneſſes, being the Mother and Guide of Creature Worſhip; how can it be otherwiſe than involv'd in numberleſs Dotages? And untill ſome abler Hand ſhall gratify the World with a full Entertainment of them; I ſhall to whet their Appetites, give a Taſte of them in the following Tract; in which, a Tale is truly told, that really tempts one almoſt to think, that it was ſtudiouſly fram'd unlikely, on purpoſe to afford a Triumph to the Authority of its Deviſers over the Minds of all that ſhould believe it; and which *Spain* did greedily, and does to this Day with great Devotion.

FINIS.

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THE LEGEND OF Saint *JAMES*, THE Patron of *SPAIN*.

WITH SOME

Animadverſions upon it.

By *Michael Geddes*, L.L. D. and *Chancellor* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum*.

Mirum eſt, quo procedat Papiſtica Credulitas; nullum tam impudens Mendacium eſt, ut teſte careat.

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THE PREFACE.

HAving, as often as they came in my way, ſtill ſlighted all the Popiſh Legends, *as ſo many monſtrouſly falſe, and ill told Tales; to juſtify my having treated Writings in that Manner, which are highly reverenc'd by whole Nations, I thought it was convenient, once for all, to preſent the Lovers of Truth with one of thoſe Hiſtorys; and, having made a few Animadverſions upon it, to leave it to them, to judge, whether he that pays no Regard to ſuch Writings, is at all in the Wrong.*

And that I may not be taxed, with having pitch'd on an old blind Legend; *which at preſent is little known, and leſs believ'd by the* Papiſts *themſelves; I have inſtanc'd in one of the moſt publick of the whole Sett; and which, if we may judge of the reality and power of a Cauſe, by the Greatneſs of its Effects, is moſt firmly believ'd: One of the richeſt and magnificent Churches, and one of the moſt numerous and wealthieſt Military Orders in the whole World, having been founded on nothing elſe, but the Belief of that* Legend; *and are ſtill maintain'd by it: And which beſides an immenſe Treaſure, has coſt Millions of Chriſtians, many a weary ſtep, over Rocks and Mountains; who otherwiſe would have ſtay'd at Home, and perform'd*

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their Devotions; and not have, by long ſantring Pilgrimages, reduc'd themſelves and their Families to Beggery: Having nothing, by that Means, left them, but a few Scollop Shells upon a Thread-bare Weed, and a Feather or two of the Caſt of the Cock *which crow'd when St.* Peter *deny'd his Lord. Neither ſhall I inſert any thing here, that is not ſolemnly ſtill related in this* Legend *by the graveſt* Spaniſh *Writers. I have two things to deſire here of the Proteſtant Reader; the one is, to thank God for not having his Mind under ſo heavy a Bondage, or rather a Judgment, as to believe* Legends; *and the other is, his Pardon, for having troubled him with Proofs of a Tale's being falſe, which in it ſelf, muſt to him, appear to be too incredible to deſerve any Confutation.*

THE

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THE LEGEND OF Saint *JAMES*, THE Patron of *SPAIN*.

SAINT *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*, having, presently after St. *Stephen* was martyr'd, been commanded by Christ to go and preach his Gospel in *Spain*; he would not begin that long Voyage before he had the Blessed Virgin's Blessing, and Licence: Which having been begg'd by him with many pious Tears, she said to him, *Go, Son, and obey thy Master's Commands, and in that City of* Spain *in which thou shalt make the most Christians, be sure to build a Church to my Honour, and I will direct thee how it is to be built.*

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Having thus received his laſt Diſpatches, St. *James*, according to the Cuſtom of the Apoſtles, took to himſelf Twelve Diſciples, who were to attend him into *Spain*; and having with them landed in *Galicia*, tho' he might have landed in *Spain* ſome hundreds of Leagues ſhort of it, he wrought many ſtupendous Miracles; and among others, he rais'd an *old Prophet* to Life, who had been dead and buried near Six hundred years; and having Baptized that ancient *Spaniſh* Prophet, and giving him the Name of *Peter*, he conſecrated him *Archbiſhop of* Braga.

From *Braga*, St. *James* went to *Cæſarea Auguſta*, now *Saragoza*, where, as he was at Prayers one Night, he heard an innumerable Company in the Air ſinging the *Ave-Marys*; and having looked up to Heaven, he beheld the Bleſſed Virgin coming down, ſitting on a *Pillar of Jaſper*, betwixt two Quires of Thouſands of Angels; and ſhe having called him to her, ſaid to him, *Son* James, *this is the Place which is dedicated to my Honour; and the Pillar I ſit upon, is ſent down to you from Heaven, by your Maſter; and about it you are to build a Church, and an Altar, before which many Miracles ſhall be wrought; and this Pillar is to remain here until the End of the World; neither ſhall this Place ever be without Chriſtians in it.*

St. *James*

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St. *James* went presently about building a Church, and having finished and consecrated it, he dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin; and this was the first *Lady Church* that was in the World. But St. *James* after he had built that Church, being much griev'd, that in the Five years which he had been in *Spain*, he had made but Seven Proselytes, besides the old Heathen Prophet he had rais'd from the Dead; he return'd to *Jerusalem*, with his twelve Disciples, taking *France* and the Isle of *Britain* in his Way; and having been soon after beheaded there, his Twelve Disciples took his Body, and carried it to *Joppa*; and at that Port, having either met with a Ship ready made to their Hands of *Marble-Stone*, or built such a Ship there themselves, in that slow Sayler they passed all the long Southern and Western Coast of *Spain*, without touching any where, before they came to the City of *Flavia*, near the Cape of the *End of the Earth*, in *Galicia*: Neither had they put in at the first Port of *Spain* which was in their way, could they have been more inhospitably entertain'd; the King of that Country, when they came ashore in their Marble Vessel, having, notwithstanding the Rarity of it, persecuted them most furiously; and Queen *Lupa*, who well deserv'd that Name, was yet more savage than her Husband: But in the End, the Disciples having by Mi-

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racles vanquiſh'd the Rage of thoſe Two Princes, they carryed their Maſter's Body to the Place where *Compoſtella* now ſtands; but which was then a thick Wood, and having dug a Vault, they laid his Body in it, in a Marble Coffin.

But tho' the Memory of St. *James*'s Body having been interr'd in that Place, did laſt near Three hundred Years; yet during the whole time of the Five hundred Years following, the Memory of it was quite extinguiſh'd in *Spain*, untill it was reſtor'd again about the Year Eight hundred and thirty, by ſome miraculous Lights that appear'd over the Place where it lay; and which having been ſeen for ſeveral Nights by the Country People, they went and acquainted *Don Theodemire* the Biſhop of *Iria*, with it; who went preſently to the Wood, and having ſeen the ſame Lights, he ſet all Hands to work to dig for the Treaſure he concluded was hid there; and they had not dug long before they came at a Cave made with Hands, in which they found a Marble Coffin, and in it St. *James*'s Body: For which Invention, the Biſhop having return'd ſolemn Thanks to Heaven, he waited on the King, and acquainted him with the unexpected Treaſure he had met with: The King being overjoy'd at the News, went preſently to viſit the Place; and having paid his Devotion

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Devotion to St. *James*'s Body, he built a Church over it, and endow'd it with great Lands and Priviledges.

It was not long before the *Spaniards* were abundantly rewarded for the Honour they had done to it; for after that, St. *James* appear'd arm'd Cap-a-pie, mounted on a ſtately pranſing white Horſe, in moſt of the Battels which they had with the *Moors*; mowing down thoſe Infidels, before the *Spaniards*, by whole Squadrons; but moſt ſignally in that Battel which *Don Ramiro* had with the whole Power of the *Moors*, upon his having deny'd to pay them the Cuſtomary yearly *Tribute* of *an hundred Chriſtian Virgins*; neither was that *Tribute*, after Saint *James* had once entered the Liſts, as the Champion of ſo many diſtreſſed Damſels, ever demanded any more by the *Moors*; whoſe Poſterity will, to this Day, tremble, if St. *James* and his white Horſe be but nam'd to them.

And as this Chivalry of St. *James*'s, gave Birth to the rich and numerous military Order which is call'd by his Name, and to his being made Patron of *Spain*; ſo it gave Riſe likewiſe to all that Knight-errantry which afterwards over-run that Kingdom, ſo that *Don Quixot* has not been able to cure the *Spaniards* wholly of it.

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The first Church which was built at *Compostella* by King *Alonso Casto*, being but a mean Edifice, it was taken down in the year 900, and a more sumptuous Church was built in the Place of it by *Don Alonso* the Great: For a *Greek* Bishop whose Name was *Stephen*, having happen'd to come in Pilgrimage to the first Church, he laughed at the *Spaniards*, when he heard them relate St. *James*'s great military Feats; saying in raillery, *I thought St.* James *had been a Fisherman and not a Warriour*: But St. *James* did not suffer this *Greek* Pilgrim to lye long under that Mistake, for the very next Night he appeared to him arm'd and mounted just as he used to be when he beat the *Moors*, and having a couple of Keys in his Hand, he held them out to the *Greek*, and said to him, *You see now I am a Warriour, and to Morrow I will with these Keys open the Gates of the City of* Coimbra *to my dear* Spaniards: And that City having, after an obstinate Siege, been surrendred on that day, by the *Moors*, to King *Ferdinand*; St. *James* his Name was raised high in *Spain* by that Vision, which help'd *Compostella* to that new Church.

Untill the Year 1080, the *Spaniards* had only St. *James*'s Body, but not his Head; but his Head having been sent at that time from *Jerusalem* to the King's Daughter, she was so kind as to give it to *Don Diego de Gilmorez*,

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Gilmirez, the first Archbishop of *Compostella*; who with great solemnity joyn'd the Head and the Body together, after they had been parted a Thousand years: That Archbishop did likewise take down the Church which had been built by *Don Alonso* the Great, and on the same Ground did build that magnificent Church which is now standing.

And whereas, untill this Time, Saint *James*'s Body had lain open in the Marble Coffin it was first found in; but so as not to be shewed to any Person but the King, if he desir'd to see it; Archbishop *Gilmirez* built it up so in a Vault under the high Altar of his new Church, that it should never be seen any more by any Person whatsoever: For which Action, that Archbishop's Prudence is highly extoll'd by the *Spanish* Historians; who say, that Relicks, tho' they may not lose their miraculous Virtue by standing open, yet may lose their Reverence, and especially with Eyes which are not so full of Superstition as not to have something of Curiosity in them.

This is the Substance of the Legend of St. *James*; and that the Reader may not think that this Story is believ'd no where but in *Spain*, he must know, that the Truth of St. *James*'s Body being at *Compostella*, has been confirm'd by the Breves of several Popes:

And

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And who having granted the ſame *Indulgences* to thoſe that go thither in Pilgrimage, as are granted to Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*; the Weſtern Chriſtians were, by thoſe *Indulgences*, ſet on flocking from all Parts to *Compoſtella* in vaſt Multitudes; to the great Benefit of the diſtreſſed *Spaniſh* Kings: For tho' the Reports of St. *James*'s own perſonal military Feats againſt the *Moors*, may not be very certain; certain it is, that his Pilgrims did both with their Purſes and Perſons do the *Spaniards* great Service againſt thoſe Infidels; and the Truth is, that was the great Deſign of that pious Fraud.

I ſhall here only enumerate the Abſurdities expreſſed in this Legend, which are plain Indications of its being a fooliſhly fram'd, tho' cunningly devis'd, Fable.

As, *Firſt*, St. *James*'s going to the Bleſſed Virgin to have a Licence from her to do what Chriſt had commanded him.

Secondly, The bleſſed Virgin, in whom no Grace ſhin'd more illuſtriouſly than a profound Humility in the Sight of God, requiring him to build his firſt Church in *Spain* to her Honour.

Thirdly, St. *James*'s having ſail'd round *Spain* before he landed in it.

Fourthly, His having rais'd an old Heathen Peopher to Life, who had been dead and buried near Six hundred Years.

Fifthly,

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Fifthly, His having built a Church in *Spain* within Ten years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion; with the whole Story of the *Jaſpar* Pillar; and which Story is ſo firmly believed, that, to this Day, there is no *Lady* ſo famous all over *Spain* and *Portugal*, for working of Miracles, as *our Lady of the Pillar*.

Sixthly, The *Marble Ship* his Body was carried in from *Joppa* to *Galicia*.

Seventhly, There being a King of *Galicia* at that Time.

Eighthly, His fighting againſt the *Moors*, armed Cap-a-pie and mounted on a pranſing white Palfrey.

Ninthly, The yearly Tribute of an Hundred Chriſtian Damſels paid by the *Spaniards* to the *Moors*.

Tenthly, St. *James*'s Head having been ſent from *Jeruſalem* to the King's Daughter, and by her ſent to *Compoſtella*, above a thouſand Years after he was killed. His Head is likewiſe at *Braga*; and if the Dean of that Church his Word may be taken for it, who ſhewed it to me and to ſome Proteſtant Merchants, it is certainly the true Head; more Miracles than can be numbred having been wrought by it, as he told us, to confirm its being ſo.

In a Word, this whole Legend ſtrikes one ſo with the Air of an idle Tale; that it is not eaſy to imagine, how any Credulity can have

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have a Throat wide enough to ſwallow it.

But as it looks like a Curſe on the Deviſors of pious Frauds, as I have elſewhere obſerved, that they do not only not garniſh their Stories with any Appearances of Truth, but do ſeem to have ſtudied to have made them as improbable as it was poſſible, to make the believing of them to be the more meritorious; ſo this Legend is, I think, a very plain Inſtance of ſuch an Infatuation. For had the Inventors of this Legend, and who were intirely at their Liberty to have done it, but told the ſame Story of any other Apoſtle, but chiefly of St. *Paul*; tho' it would not have been without ſufficient Evidences of its being Falſe, yet it would not have had its very Foundations ſo viſibly overturn'd by the Scriptures, as they are, being told of St. *James*: And in truth as to the Scriptures, the ſame may be ſaid of the Story of St. *Peter's* having been at *Rome*, and of all the Conſequences drawn from that Suppoſition.

For, *Firſt*, as St. *Luke* ſaith expreſly, that St. *James* was kill'd at *Jeruſalem*, and he is the only Apoſtle whoſe Death is recorded in the Holy Scriptures; ſo all ancient Hiſtories do agree, that St. *James* ſuffer'd Martyrdom within Ten years after Chriſt's Aſcenſion.

Secondly, Whereas this Legend ſaith, that St. *James* left *Jeruſalem* and went into *Spain*, upon the Diſperſion which was caus'd by St. *Stephen's*

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Stephen's Martyrdom; St. *Luke* ſaith expreſly, *That none of the Apoſtles departed from* Jeruſalem *on that Occaſion.*

Thirdly, It was not lawful for St. *James*, nor for any of the Apoſtles, to preach Chriſt's Goſpel to the Gentiles, untill they were commanded to do it, in the Viſion which St. *Peter* had before he went to *Cornelius*: Now it is certain that Viſion, which open'd the Door to the Preaching of the Goſpel amongſt the Gentiles, was not till within Three Years of St. *James*'s Death.

Laſtly, St. *Paul* ſpeaking of his Purpoſe to go and preach the Goſpel in *Spain*, in the Fifteenth Chapter of his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, ſaith expreſly on that Occaſion, *That he ſtriv'd to preach the Goſpel, not where Chriſt was nam'd, leſt he ſhould build on another Man's Foundation.* St. *Paul* when he writ that Epiſtle, and which he did Fifteen Years after St. *James*'s Death, muſt not therefore have known any thing of St. *James*'s having preach'd in *Spain*, and of his having built a Church and erected Biſhopricks in it.

And as the Foundations of this Legend are overturn'd by the Holy Scriptures, ſo neither has it any Colour of ancient Tradition to ſtand upon; having never been once mention'd by any Author that writ before the Ninth Century: Neither is there a Syllable concerning it in any of the ancient *Spaniſh*

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iſh Councils. By which deep and long Silence of Antiquity, the Deviſors and Patrons of this Legend, were prompted to open the richeſt Vein of Forgerys, and of Interpolations of ancient Writings, that was ever open'd to ſupport any novel Fiction; that of the Papal Supremacy only excepted: For in order to help this Legend to ſome Credit, an Hiſtory was forg'd by them, under the Name of *Dexter*, who lived in the Fourth Century; and another under the Name of *Iſidore*, who liv'd in the Sixth Century; and another under the Name of *Bede*, who lived in the Seventh Century; and another under the Name of one *Turpin*, who if there was ever any ſuch Man, lived in the Ninth Century: And by the ſame Hands, this Story was foiſted into the *Mozaribick* Liturgy, and into ſome other ancient Writings.

I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any Proofs of thoſe Hiſtorys being all ſpurious; ſeeing they are all acknowledg'd to be ſo, by *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, and by all other Criticks, Papiſts as well as Proteſtants, that were not *Spaniards*. And in truth their Spuriouſneſs is ſo palpable, that one cannot read them and not feel it.

There is but one truly ancient Monument made uſe of, to bear Teſtimony to the Truth of this Legend; and which, tho' I have

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have mention'd it on another Occaſion, I ſhall here inſert.

That ancient Monument is the Stone of the High Altar of the Church of St. *Payo*, in *Compoſtella*; on which the following Inſcription is legible,

D M S
Atiamo et Atte T Lumpſa
Viria Emo Neptis Piano
XVI ET SEC.

Which Inſcription is read and commented on as followeth, by the Champions for this Legend,

Conſecrated to the greateſt God.
Atiamo, Erato, Viriamo, Nepotis, Piano, Zuuito, Teliforo,

Were all Martyrs, ſaith the *Compoſtellan* Commentary, *and did ſuffer in* Galicia, *in the Village of* Sarep, *before the Apoſtle went to* Jeruſalem; *and who did for that reaſon leave this Altar with his Diſciples, to ſay Maſs upon, in Memory of the abovenam'd Saints.*

But this ancient Monument, after it had been for ſome Hundreds of years, an unqueſtioned Evidence of St. *James*'s having been in *Spain*; had, about an Hundred and Fifty Years ago, the ill Luck to have its Authority very much ſhaken, by having been critically read by *Ambroſius Morales*, a famous *Spaniſh* Antiquary;

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Antiquary; who has left us the following Account of that Inscription.

'In the famous Monastery of the Benedictine Nuns, that joyns to the Holy Church of St. *James*, (saith *Morales*,) and is dedicated to the glorious Martyr *Pelayo*, whom in that Country they commonly call St. *Payo*; there is an Ara on the Altar, which they affirm to have been consecrated by the Apostles, and that they themselves said Mass on it, and that it was brought thither with the blessed Body of St. *James*: Now there is not, (saith *Morales*,) not only no Foundation for the Truth of this Story; but there is just Cause to believe, that that Stone, which is at present in the same State it was in when it was first made, could never be an Altar. I observ'd it with great Attention in the Company of several learned Men; who had all the same Thoughts of it that I had, the thing indeed being too Clear and Manifest for any such to doubt of: For it is visible, that the Stone is the Grave-Stone of some Heathens, and the Inscription may with great Ease be translated as followeth,

This Stone is consecrated to the Gods of the Dead.

And dedicated to the Memories of Atiamo, *and of* Atto, *and of* Lumpsa; *as also to her Memory, who erected it,* Vicia Emosa, *their*

their pious Grand-Child, being Sixteen Years of Age.

'This is what the Stone contains; therefore they that consecrated it an Altar, 'would have done well to have defaced the 'Letters; by which means they would 'have remov'd the Indignity that stares all 'People in the Face that consider what a 'thing it is, to have the most Holy Body 'and Blood of Christ our Redeemer, con'secrated and placed upon the Tomb-Stone 'of Heathens, whereon the Devils are in'vocated. Thus far *Morales*.

But so far is Superstition from being oblig'd, by such Discoverys as these, to part with the Blunders which are thus clearly detected by them; that on the contrary, on all such Occasions, it shuts its Eyes closer, and embraces its Blunders faster, than it did before: And having its Spleen whetted by such Detections, it rageth against Grammarians, and Criticks, as an impious Brood, not fit to be suffered to live. And so, notwithstanding *Morales*'s true Reading of that Altar-Stone, *Atiamo*, and all the other Heathens, nam'd on it, are at *Compostella* still St. *James*'s Disciples, and Christian Martyrs; and are pray'd to as such, if not more, than they were before: As *Viarius* is likewise at *Ebora*, notwithstanding *Resendius*,

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above an hundred Years ago, did demonſtrate, that that Saint did owe both his Name and his Being, to an ancient Heathen *Roman* Inſcription; whereon nothing was legible, but the Words *Viarum Curator.*

In the *Spaniſh Martyrology*, we meet with another very odd Evidence of St. *James*'s having been in *Spain*, and conſecrated ſeveral Biſhops there; where *on the Fourth of* March, it is ſaid, *At the* Cheronenſus, *in the South of* Spain, *not far from* Valentia, *Saint* Baſil *Biſhop of* Carthagena, Eugenius of Valentia, Pius *of* Sevil, Agathadorus *of* Tarracona, Elpidius *of* Toledo, Ætherius *of* Barcelona, Capito *of* Lugo, Ephrem *of* Aſturias, Neſtor *of* Palencia, *and* Arcadius *of* Santono, *Biſhops, and the Diſciples of St.* James; *being aſſembled together to hold a Council, did, in the beginning of* Nero's *Cruelty, by Martyrdom, thro' the Power of Fire, attain to the inexhauſtible Light of Whiteneſs.*

Now in the *Greek Menology*, on the very ſame day of the ſame Month, we have all the ſame Saints nam'd; but as *Greek*, and not as *Spaniſh* Martyrs: And in the *Roman Martyrology*, it is ſaid, *That they all ſuffer'd Martyrdom in the* Cherſoneſus, a Place well known in *Greece.*

Now the *Spaniſh Monks*, as they were fiſhing for Evidences to ſupport the Credit of this Legend, having by ſome Accident

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or other, come to understand, that *Chersonesus* signify'd a *Peninsula*; tho' not so neither as to be able to spell it Right; upon there being such a Tract of Land on the Coast of *Spain*, they made that *Peninsula* the Place where all those Christians suffer'd Martyrdom; and created them all St. *James*'s Disciples, and the Bishops of the above-named *Spanish* Citys: There are several other such Evidences as these, in the *Spanish Martyrology*, of St. *James*'s having been in *Spain*; but I shall not trouble the Reader with them, who may judge of the rest by this Sample.

But I am sorry, that I am not able to present him with a List of the Relicks, which have been drawn to *Compostella* by this Legend, and which, without it, is imperfect: For tho' I have seen a Catalogue of them, and a noble Collection it is, at present I have it not by me; and I shall therefore, to make some amends, give him a List of the chief Relicks in *Oviedo*, a City not far from *Compostella*, and which Relicks having been brought to that Place, by the Legend of Saint *James*'s Body being in its Neighbourhood, they are visited there by all St. *James*'s Pilgrims, with great Devotion: I shall here expose that List, in *Marineus Siculus*'s own words, out of whom I had it.

'In the City of *Oviedo*, saith *Marineus*, 'besides a Cross which was divinely made

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'by Angels, there are many more things 'worthy to be publiſh'd; of which I ſhall 'relate a few, that they that read them may 'deſire to ſee them.

1. 'There is a Cheſt worſhipped, which 'was made of incorruptible Matter, by the 'Apoſtles; and is full of the wonderful 'Works of God; which Cheſt, God, the 'chief Opifex of all things, did miraculouſ-'ly tranſlate from the City of *Jeruſalem* in-'to *Africk*, and out of *Africk* into *Carthagena* 'in *Spain*, and from *Carthagena* to *Sevil*, and 'from *Sevil* to *Toledo*, and from *Toledo* into '*Aſturias*, and there into the Church of 'St. *Saviour*, in the Place called *Oviedo*: In 'which Cheſt, when the Prieſts had open'd 'it, a great many Boxes were found, ſome 'made of Gold, others of Silver, and others 'of Ivory; and which having been all open'd, 'under a great Fear of God, Tickets 'were found in them, containing many 'Myſterys, and which are all kept at this 'time in the Church of *Oviedo*, and ſhew-'ed there to Pilgrims, as they go that 'way: But paſſing over many of them, I 'will briefly enumerate a few of the chief 'ſaving Monuments, in the Church of *Ovi-'edo*, in whoſe moſt holy Temple are all 'the following wonderful Relicks. 2. 'There is a Piece of the Wood of Chriſt's 'Croſs. 3. Some of the Thorns of his 'Crown,

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'Crown, and a Piece of his Sepulcher. '4. Some of the Linen, and ſome of the Coat, 'and ſome of the Clouts, Chriſt was wrapt 'in in the Manger. 5. Some of the Bread 'of the Lord's Supper, and ſome of that 'with which he ſatisfied Five Thouſand. '6. Some of the *Manna* which God rain'd 'down upon the Children of *Iſrael*. 7. The 'Earth of Mount *Olivet*, which our Lord's 'Feet ſtood upon when he aſcended into 'Heaven. 8. The Earth our Lord ſtood 'upon when he rais'd *Lazarus*; and ſome of 'the Earth of *Lazarus*'s Grave. 9. Some 'of the Bleſſed Virgin's Milk, and ſome of 'her Hair and Cloths. 10. One of the 'Thirty Pieces of Silver for which *Judas* ſold 'the Lord. 11. The Pall and Ornaments 'which the Queen of Heaven gave to *Ile-* '*ſonſo* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*. 12. A piece 'of the Mantle of the Prophet *Elias*, and 'ſome of St. *Tirſus*'s Veſtment. 13. The 'Hand of St. *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr. '14. St. *Peter*'s Right-foot Shooe. 15. St. *John* '*the Baptiſt*'s Forehead, and ſome of his 'Hair. 16. Some of the Bones of the *In-* '*nocents*. 17. The Joynts of the Fingers, 'and other Bones of the Three Children, '*Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Miſael*. 18. Some 'of St. *Mary Magdalene*'s Hair, with which 'ſhe wip'd Chriſt's Feet. 19. Some of 'the Stone with which Chriſt's Sepulcher

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'was seal'd. 20. Some of the *Olive*, which 'Christ held in his Hand on the Feast of 'Palm Branches. 21. Some of the Rock of 'Sinai on which *Moses* fasted. 22. A piece 'of *Moses*'s Rod with which he divided the 'Red-Sea before the Children of *Israel*. 23. 'St. *Peter*'s and St. *Andrew*'s Baskets. 24. 'Some Pieces of the broyl'd Fish and Hony-'comb. And besides all these, there are so 'many Bodys of holy Martyrs, so many 'Bones of Prophets, Confessors, and Vir-'gins, and so many other Pledges kept 'there, that God only is able to number 'them.

But before I leave *Oviedo*, I cannot but take notice of an ancient Martyr, belonging to that City, of whom the *Spanish Martyrology* speaks as followeth;

On the Twenty second of May, saith that *Martyrology*, *St.* Publius Bæbius Venustus, *a Martyr*; *who in honour to the Temple of the Blessed* Mary, *built a Bridge, at the Request of the Order of the* Oviedoans; *that so a Passage might be open'd to that Church* XXC HS; *in which Bridge he left this Monument of his Piety, in the Bowels of a Stone.*

Now the Stone which contains this Monument in its Bowels, has the following Inscription upon its Surface.

P.

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P. BÆBIUS VENUSTUS P. BÆBII VENETIEP BÆSISCERIS NEPOS ORETANUS. PETENTE ORDINE ET POPULO IN HONOREM DOMUS DIVINÆ PONTEM FECIT EX HS XXC CIRCENSIBUS EDITIS.
D D

That is to say,

Publius Bæbius Venustus, *of* Oviedo, *the Son of* Publius Bæbius Venetus, *and the Grand-son of* Publius Bæsiscerís, *did at the request of the Order and People, build a Bridge to the Honour of the Divine House; it cost Eighty Sestertiums, and its dedication was celebrated with Stage-Plays.*

Let any one that reads this Inscription, judge, whether by *Domus Divina*, in it, a Church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, or a Heathen Temple is meant; and whether *Ludi Circenses*, or *Heathen Stage-Plays*, are most proper at the Dedication of a Christian or of a Heathen Work of Piety.

And on this Occasion, I cannot but say, that it is well for Popery, that it has immense Wealth and Honours to give it Credit; for, were it naked, and without those charming Advantages, its *Relicks*, *Legends*, *Blunders*, *Forgerys*, and *pretended Miracles*, would certainly make it the most contemptible, and the most ridiculous Sect of Reli-

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gion in the World; as its unparalelled Pride and Cruelty, make it now the moſt hated. And as conſidering the great Zeal wherewith the Learned *Spaniards*, as well as others, do contend for the Truth of this Legend, I cannot but think, that they believe it: ſo I cannot impute their Belief of it, and of a thouſand more ſuch idle Tales, to any thing elſe, but to the Execution of the following Scripture Sentence upon them: *Becauſe they receive not the Love of the Truth, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong Deluſions, that they ſhall believe a Lye*; That is, incredible Stories; which they could not otherwiſe have believed. And if by the *Truth* here, the Apoſtle means the true Worſhip of the true God, as probably he does; by a *Lye* he muſt mean the abſurd and falſe Stories whereby Idolatry was ſupported: For let Images, and the other viſible Objects of Creature-Worſhip, be but without bold Reports of Miracles being daily wrought by them; and in a ſhort Time they would certainly fall under ſo great, and univerſal Contempt, as to be caſt, by all their Worſhippers, with Indignation, to the *Moles* and to the *Batts*; or to be preſerved only for Ornaments. And as 'tis manifeſt, that the Image, and all the other Creature-Worſhip, which is in the Church of *Rome*, was deriv'd from the Heathens; ſo it is not leſs manifeſt, that that Worſhip did

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did bring along with it, that lying Spirit to ſupport it under a Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, which had ſo long upheld it among the Heathens: And under which *holy Profeſſion*, whoſe firſt Principle is, that there is but one God, and that he only is to be worſhipped; that lying Spirit, has been both bolder and buſier, than it was ever known to have been elſewhere: The Heathen Legends, tho' bold and numerous enough, yet were both, for Number, and Length, much ſhort of the Popiſh: However, as to the main, they are much alike; in that they leave no Room for doubting of their being deſcended of the ſame Father; and who is call'd *the Father of Lyes*, (as *Idols* are called a *Lye*,) I ſuppoſe, on the Account of *Legendary*, more than of any other ſort of *Lyes* whatſoever.

Finally, ſince all Legends are certainly of Heatheniſh Extraction, and are devis'd for the Heatheniſh Purpoſe of giving Credit to Creature-Worſhip; I ſhall conclude this Tract, with *Polybius*'s Thoughts of them; who, in his 15th Book, having Occaſion to mention the Legends of the Image of *Diana*, among the *Bargylites*; and of the Image of *Veſta* among the *Jaſſeans*; which do affirm, that no Snow, nor Rain, tho' thoſe Images ſtood in them, could fall upon them; and likewiſe the Legend of the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Arcadia*; which affirm'd, that whoever

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ever was once within the Doors of that Temple, (but into which no Body was suffered to enter,) his Body did never after cast any Shadow, tho' it was in the clearest Sun-Shine; that wise Historian passeth the following Censure on those, and on all other such Legends.

'In things which do help a Reverence 'for a Deity in the Vulgar, Writers who do 'indulge themselves a little in the relating 'of Miracles and Fables, may be pardon'd 'for it; whereas, if they do it beyond 'Measure, in my Judgment, that ought 'not to be forgiven them.

Whether the Devisors and Relators of this Legend, and of that of *Loretto*, and of a thousand more, have kept within the Bounds set to the Heathens, by *Polybius*, I leave to the candid Christian Reader to judge.

FINIS.

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A N

HISTORY

OF THE

Sad Catastrophe

OF

ANTONIO PEREZ,

Secretary of State

TO

PHILIP II.

King of *SPAIN.*

Peligroso estado de un Criado de Rey, posseer grandes Confianzas suas.

By *Michael Geddes*, LL. D. and *Chancellor* of the Cathedral Church of *Sarum.*

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THE

PREFACE.

THE *following Tract, if I am not much mistaken in it, presents the Reader with one of the greatest Riddles in History; and which, after I had endeavour'd all that I was able to have penetrated into it, I must own I was not* Oedipus *enough to interpret: I wish the Reader better Success with it.*

To have a King command a Minister, in whom he repos'd great Confidence, to procure the Death of another of his Ministers, as a Thing necessary for his Service; and after that was done, tho' that King might easily have prevented it, to suffer that Minister to be long and cruelly persecuted for it; and at the End of Eleven Years, to order him to declare the Causes, in Judgment, which had mov'd him to command that Death; and upon that Minister's having deny'd to do that, because he had promis'd the King in private never to discover them, to permit him to be rack'd to oblige him to confess them; and instead of giving way to that Minister's putting an End to that Prosecution, either by coming to an Agreement with the Prosecutor, or by fleeing to a Sanctuary, furiously to drive it on; which is the Case in the following Tract; is, I confess, a Mystery I was so little able to comprehend, that I have sometimes found my self dispos'd to question, whether the King that acted that Part, could possibly have commanded that Death.

And

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And had it not been for one Thing, I believe I ſhould have been inclined to have thought that he had not; which was, that tho' that Death was poſitively laid to the King's Charge, in Print, ſome Time before he died; and in a Book which muſt have made as great a Noiſe as ever any Book did; yet nothing was ever offer'd in Print, in the King's Vindication, or in Contradiction to any thing contain'd in that Book, either by the Court of Madrid, *or by any* Spaniſh *Writer, that I have ſeen, or heard of, tho' I have made Enquiry.*

For had not the King commanded that Death; to believe, that neither the Court of Madrid, *nor no* Spaniſh *Writer ſhould ever have offer'd one Word in his Vindication, after he was ſo publickly charg'd with it; appears to me, to be much more difficult, than to believe that the King, tho' he had commanded it, ſhould afterwards take the Courſe he did; conſidering, how difficult the King had made it for that Miniſter to prove it judicially, and the Methods he uſed at laſt to have deſtroy'd him and all his Diſcharges.*

But however that Caſe was, its having been unhappily carried out of Caſtile *into* Arragon, *was of fatal Conſequence to that Kingdom; which by having contended violently to maintain its Rights in that Cauſe, had them all taken away; to the great Satisfaction of the* Caſtilian *Miniſters, to whom the* Arragoneſe *Rights and Libertys had been long a grievous Eye-ſore; fearing, it is like, that, if they were let alone, they might in Time work their way into* Caſtile.

In Hiſtory we meet with two Evidences of the great ill Will the Caſtilian *Miniſters bore to the* Arragoneſe *Rights.*

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The First is in the Reign of Ferdinand *the Catholick; who being by Inheritance King of* Arragon, *and by Marriage King of* Castile; *the* Castilian *Ministers, when he was among them, urg'd him vehemently, and at a time when he was very angry at his Commands having met with some Opposition in* Arragon, *to destroy all those Rights which gave him daily so much Trouble.*

But that great Prince, who had always Wit in his Anger, told them, That besides that he inherited the Crown of Arragon, *with these Conditions; and had taken an Oath, and under heavy Censures, never to violate any of those Rights, he had a Rule as to Kings and their Subjects; which Rule was to keep the Ballances even betwixt them; since if they were not kept so, the one or the other would be always striving, not only to bring them back to an Equality, but to get more Weight than they had lost, to the Ruine of the one, or the other, if not of both: A Rule, which would make both Princes and People happy, if they both observ'd it. The Second was in the Reign of* Philip II, *who being angry with the* Arragoneses, *for having insisted on some of their Rights in Contradiction to his Will; was told by the fierce Duke of* Alva, *that one would not accept of a Kingdom, on the Terms he was King of* Arragon; *and who did offer, if the King would but send him into that Kingdom with Six thousand of the Soldiers which he had train'd up in the Art of War, to reduce it so to his Obedience, that their Rights should never molest him any more.*

But tho' at that Time the King did not think fit to follow that violent Counsel; yet on this Occasion, and being call'd to it by the Arragonese *Inquisitors, he*

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he took it, as the Reader will ſee in the following Story: And in which he may ſee likewiſe, that how ill ſoever Miniſters, whilſt they are in Favour, do ſtand affected to the Legal Rights of the Subjects; yet if they themſelves come to be proſecuted, as they are commonly, after they fall into Diſgrace; that they are then glad that there are ſuch Rights, and do ſeek to cover themſelves with them, againſt the Prince's Diſpleaſure, or, which is worſe, the Malice of their Succeſſors in the Miniſtry; and which, if I am not miſtaken, was the Duke of Alva's *own Caſe, not many Years after he gave the King that violent Counſel: So that in this Caſe, Affliction does certainly give Underſtanding, to thoſe that were without it whilſt they were in Honour; and which a Royal Prophet has declared not to be an uncommon Thing.*

I have but one Thing, beſides his Candor, to deſire of the Reader; and that is, after he has had the Patience to peruſe this Tract, to conſider how great a Mercy it was to England, *to be ſo ſoon deliver'd from the Government of ſuch a Prince, as he will ſee* Philip *was, and to have Queen* Elizabeth *ſucceed him, to whoſe long and happy Reign, under* GOD, *it is very plain, that* England *does owe its preſent great Trade, Strength and Wealth, but above all, the Eſtabliſhment of the True Chriſtian Religion in it; and having conſider'd this, to thank* GOD *for it, and to honour the Memory of a Queen who was ſo great a Bleſſing to Her People; and to pray that our preſent Gracious* QUEEN, *who treads in that Great Princeſs's Steps, may have a longer, and yet a more proſperous Reign than She had.*

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A N

HISTORY

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OF

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TO

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King of *SPAIN*.

Antonio Perez, the Subject of the following Tragedy, was Son to the famous *Gonzalo Perez*, who was Forty Years sole Secretary of State for *Spain* to

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the Emperor *Charles* the 5th, and to his Son King *Philip* the 2d. which was a long time for one to ſtand in ſo ſlippery a Poſt, and in the Reigns of Two Kings ſo different in their Tempers.

Antonio being a Lad of pregnant Parts, was, by the Emperor's expreſs Command, taken off of his Academical Studies, in which he was making an extraordinary Progreſs; and was put young into the Secretary's Office, under his Father; and in that School of Politicks, and under ſo good a Tutor, *Antonio* became ſuch a Proficient, that, when his Father died, he ſucceeded him in his Place of Secretary of State: And that Office being judged by King *Philip* not to be a Province large enough for *Antonio*'s great Capacity, he made him likewiſe Secretary of War; and at a time when thoſe two Offices never had more or greater Buſineſs: In both which difficult Poſts, *Antonio*, for many years, behav'd himſelf ſo well, as to be, what few publick Miniſters have ever been, both a great Favourite and very popular.

He liv'd alſo in an entire Friendſhip with *Ruy Gomez* Prince of *Eboli*, and his Princeſs; and with the Marquiſs *de los Velez*, who were the Perſons moſt in Favour with the King; So that never did any Publick Miniſter ſeem to be more firmly eſtabliſh'd in

in his great Offices; or more likely, than he was, to have died in them, after his Father's Example.

But ſuch is the Uncertainty of all Human Affairs, and particularly in Princes Courts; that, by one falſe Step, and which he could not avoid making neither without preſent Ruin, he was not only tumbled down all at once; but was, for all the reſt of his Life, and which laſted many Years after, one of the unhappieſt Men that we read of.

The bad Step, which prov'd ſo fatal to *Antonio*, was his having order'd *John de Eſcovedo*, who was Secretary to *Don John* of *Auſtria*, to be murther'd one Night in *Madrid*; and which, tho' it was done by the King's expreſs Command, I do call *Murther*; becauſe, how guilty ſoever the unfortunate *Eſcovedo* might be of Crimes which deſerv'd Death, yet he was never legally convicted of any, and was therefore put to Death contrary to the ſtanding Laws of that Realm.

But this Death of *Eſcovedo*'s, and the great Misfortunes which befell *Antonio Perez* upon his having had a Hand in it, having open'd to us a Scene of Hiſtory relating to *Don John* of *Auſtria*; which, tho' very conſiderable, might otherwiſe never have taken Air, and its Light being neceſſary to let us ſee the bottom of this ſad Cataſtrophe;

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I ſhall here diſplay it to the Reader, from its Beginning to its End.

Don John of *Auſtria*, who was the natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the 5th, by an unknown Woman; having had a Princely Education given him by his Father; and being both a fine Perſon of a Man, and of a lofty Genius, he ſtill aim'd at higher Honours than he had been born to; ſeeking, by the Loftyneſs of his Views, and the Proweſs of his Atchievements, to remedy the Misfortune of his Birth.

For tho' he was left young by his Father, and to a Brother, who had nothing of a *German* in his Temper, nor did ſeem to have much Regard for his Father's Memory; yet this young Prince, did, by ſome Charm or other, ſo inſinuate himſelf into *Philip*'s Affections, that he was very kind to him; both allowing him a Princely Maintenance, and placing ſuch Perſons about him as were able to qualify him for the higheſt Poſts he could give him.

And as his Father the Emperor had made *Don Lewis Quixada*, who was a conſiderable Man, his Governour; ſo his Brother King *Philip* did place *Don John de Soto* about him, who had been Secretary for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was a Perſon well skill'd in all Affairs of Peace and War.

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The *Moriſcoes* of *Granada*, having, in the Year 1569, taken up Arms on Occaſion of ſome new Laws which had been impoſed upon them, in Order to convert them to Chriſtianity; and ſo fortify'd themſelves among the Mountains of that Kingdom, that the *Spaniards* had not, in the Space of Sixteen Months, been able to reduce them to Obedience; the King judg'd it neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable Army againſt them: And having made his Brother *Don John*, who was then but two and twenty Years of Age, General of it; he appointed *Soto* to attend him, as his Secretary and Councellor: And *Don Lewis Quixada*, who was very dear to *Don John*, having been kill'd by the *Moriſcoes* in that Expedition; *Soto* did become ſo much this Prince's Favourite, that he ſeem'd to be wholly govern'd by him.

Don John's extraordinary good Succeſs in his firſt Enterprize; the *Moriſcoes* having, in a ſhort Time, been totally ſubdu'd by him; recommended him to the King ſo much, that he preſently after nam'd him Generaliſſimo of that great Fleet which was in the Year 1571, in Conjunction with the Pope's, and the *Venetians*, ſet out againſt the *Turks*: And which having gain'd the moſt famous Victory of *Lepanto*; the greateſt Share of the Glory of that Victory fell upon *Don John*, as being Generaliſſimo; and who hav-

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ing on that Occaſion been highly complimented by the Pope, the *Venetians*, and moſt of the other Princes of *Europe*, thoſe loud and univerſal Applauſes did raiſe ſuch ſtrong Fumes in a Head over which but bare twenty five Years had paſt, as ſet it on aking ſo after a Crown, that it was never cur'd but by Death; the only Remedy, except Fruition, for that Diſtemper of the Mind

Theſe aſpiring Thoughts of *Don John*'s were probably the ruine of the League againſt the *Turks*; he having been hindred by them from proſecuting the Victory of *Lepanto*, that he might be at Leiſure to ſeek out a Kingdom for himſelf. But whatſoever it was that led *Don John* to *Tunis*, when he ſhould have gone againſt the *Turks*; after he had conquer'd that City and Kingdom, it is certain that he did ſet his Heart extreamly on being made King of them: And ſo, tho' after he had taken that City, he receiv'd expreſs Orders from the Court at *Madrid*, to plunder and diſmantle it; he was ſo far from yielding Obedience to thoſe Orders, that he made it much ſtronger than he found it; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd an Envoy ſecretly to his great Friend the Pope, to intreat him to try if he could perſwade King *Philip* to give way to his Holineſs's making him King of *Tunis*. The Pope who is always very liberal of his Ene-

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mies Kingdoms to his Favourites, readily undertook that Buſineſs; and ſent Orders to his Nuncio at *Madrid* to ſollicite it in that Court with all poſſible Diligence; and which the Nuncio having done, he was at laſt told by the King, after many Compliments paſſed on the Pope and his Brother *Don John*, *That it was not a Thing feaſible*; and ſo it was dropt. But the King, who did not at all like this ſecret Negociation of *Don John*'s with the Pope, before he had made him privy to it; being ſatisfy'd that theſe aſpiring Thoughts of his Brother, if they were not infus'd into him, were at leaſt cheriſh'd and much animated by his Secretary *Soto*, who was known to be a Man of great Ambition; he had ſome Thoughts of removing *Soto* preſently from about his Brother: But having conſulted with the Prince of *Eboli*, and *Antonio Perez*, about it, it was judged to be more convenient, conſidering how unwilling *Don John* would be to part with *Soto*, to let *Soto* remain with him; yet in ſome higher but not ſo cloſe a Poſt; and to ſend *Don John* a new Secretary, to be a Spy upon *Soto*, and to infuſe wiſer Thoughts into that Prince: And accordingly a Commiſſion was diſpatch'd, conſtituting *Soto* Proveedor General of the Armada; and *John de Eſcovedo*, who was a Creature of the Prince of *Eboli*'s, was made Secretary to

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Don John, in *Soto*'s Place; and who was charg'd particularly by the King, to watch *Soto*, and if he found him giving *Don John* any more ſuch Counſels, to acquaint him with it.

But ſo far was *Eſcovedo* from faithfully diſcharging that Office, that he had not been long in *Don John*'s Service, before he was got deeper into thoſe Counſels, which he was placed about him on purpoſe to have countermined, than *Soto* himſelf. And being a Man of great Dexterity in Buſineſs, he had, without acquainting the Court at *Madrid* with it, ſet a ſecret Negociation on Foot at *Rome*, in order to obtain a much greater Crown for his Maſter than that of *Tunis* would have been; which was, the Crown of *England*: And having made ſeveral Journeys betwixt *Don John*, after he was returned to *Italy*, and *Rome*, where he was well receiv'd by the Pope; he was at laſt, upon the King's having appointed *Don John* Governour of the *Netherlands*, ſent by him to *Madrid*, to negotiate that Affair with the Pope's Nuncio at that Court: Which, when he had begun to do, the Nuncio one day ſent to *Antonio Perez* to come to his Houſe, having an Affair of great Importance to communicate to him; and when *Antonio Perez* was come, the Nuncio, having taken him into a private Room, asked him, Who that

Eſcovedo

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Eſcovedo was that was lately come to Court? *Antonio Perez* anſwer'd, it was *John de Eſcovedo*, who was Secretary to *Don John* of *Auſtria*: It muſt be the ſame, ſaid the Nuncio, for he hath brought a Diſpatch to me, from his Holineſs with a Cypher; commanding me to uſe all poſſible Diligence, but in ſuch a Manner as *John de Eſcovedo* ſhall direct, to perſwade his Majeſty to invade *England*; and having conquer'd it, to accommodate *Don John* of *Auſtria* with the Crown of that Kingdom. *Antonio Perez*, having return'd ſuch an Anſwer to the Nuncio as he thought was proper, went immediately to the King, and acquainted him with the great Secret he had been entruſted with by the Nuncio; and the King being highly diſpleas'd with *Eſcovedo*, for having without his Knowledge engag'd the Pope in a Deſign of ſo important a Nature, would have made an Example of him, for his unfaithfulneſs in the truſt which had been particularly committed to him, and for which he knew he had been made Secretary to *Don John*, had not his Fear of diſobliging the Pope and his Brother too much, reſtrain'd him from it: He therefore commanded *Antonio Perez* to go preſently and acquaint *Eſcovedo*, with what the Nuncio had told him; and, in order to pump the whole Secret out of him, to offer to joyn with him in aſſiſting the Nuncio,

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cio, in this weighty Negotiation; which having been done, the Nuncio, at a private Audience, communicated this great Affair to the King, and in the Pope's Name preſſed him very hard to enter into it with all his Force.

The King's Anſwer to the Nuncio was, That he was much pleaſed to find his Holineſs ſo Zealous for to advance his Brother, to whom he ſhould be ready to give all poſſible Aſſiſtance in this Caſe. And *Don John* believing that if he were at *Madrid* himſelf, he might there, in Conjunction with the Nuncio, ſettle his Buſineſs concerning *England*; notwithſtanding he had receiv'd the King's expreſs Command to go directly from *Italy* to *Flanders*, he came unexpectedly to *Madrid*; and having receiv'd an Account from *Antonio Perez* and *John de Eſcovedo*, of the good Poſture his Affair about *England* was in, he prepar'd himſelf to go forthwith to his Government of the *Netherlands*: And to which, that he might go the more chearfully, the King when he left *Madrid*, did aſſure him, that ſo ſoon as the Affairs of the *Netherlands* were accommodated by the Project he carried with him, and the States of thoſe Countries would give their Conſent to the embarking of the Troops which were to be rais'd there for that Service, that he would not only give way to it, but ſhould be glad to have him invade *England*, and made King of that Realm. With

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With theſe Aſſurances *Don John* left *Madrid*, in the Year 1576, and went to the *Netherlands*, with his Head full of Hopes of wearing the Crown of *England*; which at that time for the publick Good of *England*, was on the beſt Head it was ever on before.

But being come to *Flanders*, the Differences betwixt the King and the States of the *Netherlands* were ſo far from being compoſed by what he had offer'd, that they were made rather greater by it; and when the raiſing and embarking of Troops was propos'd by him, they all declar'd againſt it, as an Infringement of the Libertys of the free People of that Country. *Don John* being extreamly concern'd at this Diſappointment, had Recourſe to his old Friend again, the Pope, whom he ſupplicated for the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *England*, and for Money, Bulls, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Artillery, to enable him to invade that Kingdom.

As to the Inveſtiture, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Preparations, which *Don John* deſir'd, the Pope having an inexhauſtible Treaſure of them, was without doubt very ready to furniſh him with them; but as to the carnal Preparation of Money, that is never eaſily to be had out of the Papal Treaſury. However, the Pope being very Zealous to have

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have *England* invaded and reduc'd to his Obedience, did write to his Nuncio at *Madrid* to ſpeak to the King again about it, and not to give over ſolliciting him, untill he had perſwaded him to undertake that holy War: And the Nuncio having thereupon called *Antonio Perez* to him, he acquainted him with the Diſpatch he had receiv'd from the Pope, and with *Don John*'s having writ to his Holineſs in Cyphers from *Flanders*, for to diſpoſe Matters for the invading of *England*: With all which *Antonio Perez* made the King acquainted preſently, that he might be prepar'd with an Anſwer for the Nuncio when he came to ſpeak to him about it.

The King, who was very angry at *Don John*'s negotiating this Affair ſtill with the Pope, told the Nuncio, when he ſpoke to him of it, but without making any Diſcovery of *Don John*'s having writ from *Flanders* to the Pope, 'That this was an Affair that 'ought to be well weighed and conſidered; 'and was not to be enterpriz'd, without 'ſeeing whether they ſhould be able to go 'thro' with it; and that not having heard 'any thing from his Brother for a pretty 'while, he knew not how things ſtood in 'the *Netherlands*; where, if things went 'not well, the invading of *England* was an 'Affair not to be thought of. And having diſmiſs'd the Nuncio with this Anſwer, the King

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King commanded *Antonio Perez* to write preſently to *Don John*, and to give him an Account of what had paſſed lately betwixt the King and the Nuncio concerning the Affair of *England*: which *Antonio Perez* did, and by the ſame Courier did write one Letter privately, (as he pretended) to *Don John*, and another to *Eſcovedo*; in which having reprov'd them for the Application they had made to the Pope, without having acquainted the King with it, he told them, however, that he had accommodated that Matter as well as he was able: Both which Letters and all the others that he writ to *Don John* and to *Eſcovedo*, and all their Anſwers, (knowing this to be an Affair of a very delicate and tickliſh Nature,) he ſtill ſhew'd to the King, and who, with his own Hand, writ ſomething both upon his Copys and upon their Anſwers.

Not long after this, *Antonio Perez* receiv'd Advice from *Don John de Vargas Mexias*, the King's Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*, that there were Envoys daily going and coming betwixt *Don John* and the Duke of *Guiſe*; and who, tho', at their firſt coming to *Paris*, they did appear abroad, were afterwards ſhut up with that Duke; who at that time, by having made himſelf the Head of the Zealots, had more Power in *France* than the King himſelf: And *Vargas* upon

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upon this Intelligence, having been commanded by the King narrowly to observe all the Motions of those Envoys, and if it were possible to discover what their Business was with the Duke of *Guise*; in a short time he writ Word, that he had fished it out, and that *Don John* and the Duke were enter'd into a solemn Confederacy, in the Names and for the Defence of the two Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, and of the Catholick Religion.

The King was much more troubled at this, than at all *Don John*'s former secret Negotiations; his having entered into a League with the most aspiring and insolent Subject of *Europe*, and in the Name and Defence of his Kingdom, without his Knowledge, being so bold a Step, that he apprehended it must needs end in great publick Disturbances. And these Fears of the King were much encreased, by the Letters that were writ at this time by *Don John* and his Secretary *Escovedo* to *Antonio Perez*; in which that Prince expressed a most desperate Discontent, upon his Hopes of the Crown of *England* being vanish'd; and did vehemently demand to be eased of the Government of the *Netherlands*; with which, I can see no other Reason for his being so much discontented, besides that of their having deny'd to suffer him to embark any of their People

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People for to invade *England*. In his Letter of the Firſt of *March* 1577 to *Antonio Perez*, he writ as followeth, 'My Life, 'Honour, and Soul, depend ſo on my leaving of this Government quickly; that the 'two Firſt will certainly be loſt, and the 'Third, thro' my Deſpair, will run a great 'Risk, if I am not ſpeedily eaſed of it. And in another Letter of the Tenth of *February*, in the ſame Year, he writes, 'Now that 'the Deſign upon *England* is blown over, I 'know not what to think of; being, by 'that terrible Blow, ſtruck into ſo deep a 'Melancholy, that I have many times 'ſtrong Impulſes to hide my ſelf in an Hermitage: For neither the Shortneſs of my 'Life, nor my own Breaſt being accuſtom'd 'to know all its Obligations, will Conſent to 'the remaining Courſe of my Life being anſwerable to that which is paſt: Adding, 'And that if he ſhould be continu'd in 'the Poſt he was in, any longer than one 'could be found to ſucceed him in it, there 'was no Reſolution that he might not take, 'even to the throwing up of his Government, and going to *Madrid*, when he was 'leaſt expected there; notwithſtanding he 'were certain that it ſhould coſt him his 'Head. Concluding, 'That if he were 'not quickly recalled, that he ſhould certainly incur the Caſe of Diſobedience, to

'avoid

'avoid that of Infamy; and would, *per fas* 'aut *nefas*, leave *Flanders* and return to 'Spain; and what would follow upon his 'doing that, God only knew, whoſe Hand 'is all-ſufficient. By this we ſee how unhappy a thing it commonly is, for Princes to have their younger Years ſo proſperous, that their ſucceeding Years cannot well keep Pace with them; which was the Caſe of this uneaſy Prince.

His Secretary *Eſcovedo*'s Letters, writ to *Antonio Perez* from *Flanders* at the ſame time, were all of the ſame deſperate Strain; in one of which of the Third of *February*, he ſaith, 'That his Maſter, *Don John*, would rather 'go an Adventurer into *France*, with Six 'thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe; 'than be continu'd Governour of the *Ne*'*therlands*. And in another he writ; 'Let us 'preſerve the Man that has preſerv'd us all; 'and do all that we are able to help him to 'Contentment, whoſe Life, ſince his laſt Diſ'appointment, is Wearineſs and Death to him.

Eſcovedo, before he went to *Flanders*, had talk'd raſhly too, having ſaid to one in Confidence, that, were his Maſter *Don John* once King of *England*, he would with the Caſtle and Port of St. *Ander*, and a Fortreſs on the Rock of *Megro*, be able to over-run *Spain* when he pleas'd; and which, he ſaid, had formerly been conquered by that Way:

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and what made thoſe Words to be the more regarded, was *Eſcovedo*'s having adviſ'd the Building of ſuch a Fortreſs, and petition'd to have the Command of it.

Whilſt the King was in a great Perplexity, how to prevent *Don John*'s Diſcontents breaking out into ſome publick Diſturbances, *Eſcovedo* came unexpectedly from *Flanders* to *Madrid*, with a Diſpatch from *Don John*; and to which he demanded a ſpeedy Anſwer: The King judging it neither to be ſafe to return ſuch an Anſwer to that Diſpatch as would give Satisfaction; nor to delay giving one; was more entangl'd than he was before; and ſeeing no ſuch Way to diſembarraſs himſelf, as by diſpatching *Eſcovedo*, not to *Flanders*, but into the next World; he reſolv'd to have it done, and to truſt no Body, but *Antonio Perez*, with the Execution of it: And ſo having called him one day into the Wardrobe of the *Eſcurial*, and commanded him to lay the Papers, which he had brought for him to ſign, down upon the Table; he ſaid, 'Antonio Perez, I have 'both waking and ſleeping revolv'd the 'Courſe of all my Brother's Negotiations 'over in my Mind; or rather indeed of '*Eſcovedo*'s, and of his Predeceſſors *John de* '*Soto*: And I do find that by their Plots 'they have brought things to that paſs, that 'it is neceſſary to come to a Reſolution to

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'put a ſpeedy ſtop to them; and the only 'Remedy that I can think of in this Caſe, 'is, to have *Eſcovedo* made away; ſince to 'apprehend him would make my Brother 'more deſperate than any Diſpatch I can 'ſend by him into *Flanders*. I am reſolv'd 'therefore to have that done, and not to 'truſt any Body but your ſelf with the Exe-'cution of it; both for your known Fidelity 'and Dexterity, and becauſe thoſe Plots are 'not known ſo well by any, as by you: And 'for the ſame Reaſon that this ought to be 'done, it ought to be done ſpeedily.

Antonio Perez, who was much ſurpriz'd, made Anſwer, 'That tho' he was infinitely 'oblig'd to his Majeſty for the Confidence 'he repos'd in him; yet his Zeal for his Ma-'jeſty's Service made him deſire to have 'leave to propoſe one Thing.

'What is that, ſaid the King?

'Sir, ſaid *Antonio Perez*, tho' your Ma-'jeſty's Prudence and State are ſuch as do ſe-'cure you againſt Ill-will amidſt the greateſt 'Offences; yet in this Caſe I cannot but 'conſider your Majeſty as a Party, and my 'ſelf, by reaſon of the Reſentments which 'their Intrigues have rais'd in me, as a Par-'ty likewiſe; it would therefore, in my O-'pinion, be convenient to have the Judge-'ment of a Third Perſon, which, would 'both much aſcertain and credit this Re-'ſolution:

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'ſolution: As to the reſt, here I am, and 'ſo much your Majeſty's, as to have no Will 'of my own, no more than the Hand has in 'the Execution of the Maſter's Commands.

To this the King reply'd preſently, '*Antonio*, if you propoſe the communicating 'of this Secret, becauſe you are not willing 'to venture on the Execution of it alone, 'there is ſomething in that; but if it is for 'Counſel you propoſe it, there is no need of 'it: For I muſt tell you, that Kings, like 'eminent Phyſicians, in Extremities do exe-'cute their own Wills, without adviſing 'with thoſe they did conſult with in other 'Caſes; for in Matters of this Nature, and 'in which you may believe me, becauſe I 'ſpeak in my Profeſſion, the asking of Coun-'ſel does more Hurt than Good. But *Antonio Perez*, who knew his Maſter too well, not to be willing to have a Witneſs of his having commanded this; inſiſted ſo on having it communicated to the Marquis *de los Velez*; that tho' the King would not himſelf ſpeak of it to him, he gave him Leave to ask that Marquis's Opinion of it; which *Antonio Perez* having done, the Marquis, having laid all that had been writ and ſaid by *Eſcovedo* together, told him; 'That were he ask'd, 'when he had the Sacrament in his Mouth, 'whether *Eſcovedo*, or any other turbulent 'Perſon, ſhould be put to Death? he would

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But tho', upon this Declaration of that Marquis, *Escovedo*'s Death was resolv'd on; it was not so soon settled how it should be executed: At first they had Thoughts of arresting him, and trying him publickly for his Life; but that having been laid aside, as unsafe, because it could not be done without bringing *Don John* upon the Stage, to the exasperating of his present great Discontents to a dangerous Excess; and that of dispatching him with Poyson having been rejected for the same Reason; it was at last agreed that he should be stabb'd in the Street at Night, as he went home from Court, and that it should be given out that it had been done upon some private Revenge: And which being no uncommon thing at *Madrid*, they did hope that it would have passed over without any great Noise, and without giving *Don John* any Jealousy of its having been done on his Account.

And accordingly on the Eve of *Good Friday*, when the Streets of *Madrid* are all Night crouded with People of both Sexes; and which, for that Reason, is the Night of the greatest Mis-rule in the whole year; *Escovedo* being met in the Street by Four or Five Ruffians, they first jostl'd him, and having afterwards pick'd a Quarrel with him, they all drew their Daggers, and immediately stabb'd him dead upon the Place.

And

And whereas *Antonio Perez*, that there might not be any Suſpicion of his having been any way acceſſary to that Murder, had on pretence of an extraordinary Devotion retir'd to *Alcala*, ſome days before it was committed; ſo, when the News of it was brought thither, he ſeem'd to be ſo much diſturbed for the Loſs of ſo dear a Friend, that his Devotion, and all that were about him, had enough to do to keep him from immediately taking Poſt for *Madrid*, to find out the Authors of that execrable Murder: Notwithſtanding among other Arguments, they very innocently endeavoured to poſſeſs him, that had he been at *Madrid* when the Blow was given, it would have reached him likewiſe.

We are not told how *Eſcovedo*'s Death was reſented by *Don John*, who did not outlive the News of it many Months; he having on the Firſt of *October* following, the Day whereon he uſed to celebrate his Two great Victorys at *Lepanto* and *Tunis*, died at *Namur*; of a peſtilential Fever, ſome ſay, of pure Diſcontent ſay others; and others ſay of Poiſon, which had been given him by the Procurement of the Court of *Madrid*.

This Prince, for ſome Time after he came to *Flanders*, ſeem'd to live in a better Correſpondence with Queen *Elizabeth* than any of his Predeceſſors; that Queen having had

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no Suſpicion of his having a Grant from the Pope of her Crown; (and that, ſo far as I can find, without being oblig'd to marry the Queen of *Scots*, for the corroborating of his Papal Title;) untill ſhe was advertis'd of it, as a thing moſt certain, by that wiſe and great Heroe, *William* Prince of *Orange*; a moſt auſpicious Name to *England*, and indeed to the Proteſtant Religion in General, and the Liberties of *Europe*: And whereas before, that Queen had trimm'd betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, and of the two did ſeem to incline moſt to the former; having, not long before, to gratify the *Spaniards*, forbid the Prince of *Orange* and all his Confederates to come into her Kingdom, and writ to the *Dutch* to diſpoſe them to agree to what *Don John* had to offer to them; after this Intelligence, ſhe begun to eſpouſe the *Dutch* Intereſts; and having ſet herſelf to thwart *Don John* in every thing, ſhe writ to the King of *Spain*, to call him out of *Flanders*.

And tho' I do not believe, that *Ratclif* was ſent by her, or by any that were about her, into *Flanders*, to have murthered *Don John*; on which Pretence that Gentleman was put to Death there; yet, conſidering how vehement and reſtleſs an Appetite that Prince had for her Crown, and how he was ador'd by all the *Engliſh* Papiſts, by whom his

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his Death was lamented, as the greateſt Loſs that could have befallen their Cauſe; if King *Philip*, for his own Security, did diſpatch him, after his Secretary, into the next World, ſhe had no Cauſe to be ſorry for it. But to return to *Antonio Perez*.

Tho' the Perſons who had ſtabb'd *Eſcovedo* were neither taken nor known by any of his Relations; yet it was no ſooner done, than, according to the ſaying, *Murther will out*, it was in every Body's Mouth that *Antonio Perez* had been the Author of his Death; and that he had done it for no other Reaſon but to gratify the fair Princeſs of *Eboli*, who was known to be angry with *Eſcovedo*, for ſome ill Offices he had done her with his Maſter *Don John*, who was believ'd to be her Gallant; and for his having talked freely of that Princeſs's Familiarity with *Antonio Perez*: By which Provocations ſhe was ſo incenſed againſt *Eſcovedo*, that ſhe one Day told *Antonio Perez*, that nothing leſs than the Blood of that Raſcal, who had the Impudence to reflect ſo on her Honour, could ſatisfy her: but having been deſir'd by *Antonio Perez* not to trouble herſelf any farther about *Eſcovedo*, but to leave him to the King's Vengeance, who was as angry with him as ſhe was; ſhe was quiet.

But the Man of all others that ſeem'd to reſent this Murder the moſt, was the Secre-

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tary *Matthew Vasquez*; who set all his Engines to work, and having made some Discoverys, he communicated them to the King in the Paper following, but under a feign'd Name.

'The People's Suspicion of one Secretary's having kill'd the other, gathers Strength; and a Response which it hath met with, affirms him to have caused his great Friend to be kill'd who is now in his Honour; and that he did it for a Woman: And saith yet farther, that when his Wife went first to visit the Widow of the Secretary that was murthered, that Widow thundred out Curses against the Man who had caused her Husband to be stabb'd; and that she did it in such a Manner that there was great Notice taken of it. I conceive it will be convenient that his Majesty should ask *Vegreete* in secret, what he can say concerning that Death, and what his Suspicions are, and on what they are grounded; for tho' he has never said any thing to me, I hear by others that he has talkt of it.

'Wherefore to give Satisfaction to the Ministers, and to the whole Common-Wealth, which is so much scandaliz'd at this matter; and to divert some ill Whispers of bad Consequence, which fly about; it is expedient that the Truth of this matter

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'ſhould be narrowly ſearched after; both 'by the way of Suſpicions, and by all other 'ways and means poſſible. Your Majeſty, 'will be pleaſed to return this Paper, which 'belongs to *Auſtin Alvaro de Toledo.*

The King having diligently peruſed this Paper, gave it to *Antonio Perez*; and commanded him to carry it to the Marquis *de los Velez*, to conſult with him about the Anſwer he was to return to it; which *Antonio Perez* having done, he ſent the following Paper to the King. 'I was laſt Night with *Velez*, and 'did communicate *Matthew Vaſquez*'s Paper 'to him, (1.) He is much ſcandaliz'd with 'it all; and at that Man's preſſing your Ma'jeſty ſo hard, as if he would ſqueeze your 'Breath out of your Body. As to the An'ſwer, he mention'd ſeveral, which might 'and ought to be given; but, not to tire 'your Majeſty, he ſaith, this that followeth may do very well.

'I have with you been inform'd from 'whence this (2.) Caſe has proceeded, but 'by a Way that will not allow me to ſpeak 'of it. (3.) However I can aſſure you that 'it is very different from that in your Pa'per. (4.) There is not therefore any Re'gard to be had to what you ſay here; 'which has no other Foundation but an ex'travagant Curioſity, and a very raſh Judg'ment.

On

On the Margin of this Paper, the King, after he had carefully perused it, did write with his own Hand. (1.) 'He has reason 'in this, however I believe it may have hap-'pen'd for the best, since they may be un-'deceiv'd by this Answer. And to *Anto-nio Perez*'s having added the Word *asto-nishing*, (2.) the King writ, 'It is well, 'and I have likewise made my Additions; 'which are, (3) 'Tho' I do much wish 'that I had known it by some other way, 'that I might have chastiz'd it, (4.) Tho' 'I believe he that did it, had great Cause 'for it. Writing in the Conclusion, If there 'be any thing in this that you do not un-'derstand, bring it to me at Night, and I 'will explain it to you.

But *Vasquez* not having been convinced by this Answer, of his Suspicions being alto-gether groundless; he did underhand per-swade *Escovedo*'s Widow and eldest Son, to think of prosecuting the Princess of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez*, as the Authors of her Husband's Blood; and of which he said there were strong Presumptions, if not clear Proofs.

Antonio Perez finding the Storm begun to thicken upon him, went to his Country-House, and the Cardinal of *Toledo* with him, to spend some time there; and having had Occasion to write from thence to the King

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King about ſome publick Affairs, he put the following Expoſtulation in a Poſtſcript.

'Will your Majeſty command me to 'wear a Paper on my Breaſt confeſſing that 'Death? for there I do verily believe it will 'end, and that I muſt pay for all at laſt. In anſwer to this the King writ, 'The bad 'Humour reigns to Day: I would not have 'you believe what you ſay, but the quite 'contrary. And he having afterwards writ a ſecond Letter to the King, did put the following Expoſtulation to it, 'Sir, I am 'afraid that I ſhall be ſmitten by my Ene-'mies under the Fifth Rib when I leaſt 'think of it; and that taking Advantage of 'your Majeſty's great Mildneſs and Suffer-'ance in this Matter; they will, before you 'are aware, have compaſs'd their Ends. I 'ſay this becauſe I know they are reſtleſs. In anſwer to this the King writ as follow-eth, 'I told you formerly that you muſt be 'out of Humour; for tho' they do not reſt, 'believe me, they ſhall not prevail; and I 'do remember nothing, if I did not tell you 'what I ſaid to them.

But, to *Antonio Perez*'s great Misfortune, the Marquis *de los Velez* was at this time ſeiz'd with a dangerous Diſtemper, of which he died not long after; and who having retir'd to his Country-Houſe, which was a great way from the Court, for the recovery of his Health;

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Health; as he was in his Way Home, the following Letter was writ by him to *Antonio Perez*.

SIR,

'SInce I had yours at *Ocana*, I have heard 'nothing of your Health; neither was 'my own, at that time, in such a State as 'would allow me to answer you. That 'which I have at present, is, by travelling, 'something better; I have a little better Appetite to my Meat, tho' it is not strong enough for any Flesh I can meet with in the '*Mancha*. I go on recovering Strength as 'fast as I can, and may God encrease it: It 'is no small Relief to me, that I am got 'from Court; so well do I bear your Business, or which is rather my own, being 'traversed as it is.

'I believe the Affair of the Archbishop of '*Toledo*'s Hat is finish'd, and I do very 'much rejoyce at it; I desire you to congratulate him, for me and the rest of his 'Friends: Neither do I rejoyce less at the Vacancy of *Hernando de Escobar*, with which 'I am much delighted. I kiss your Hands 'for your Enamelling, which I see I could 'not have had done at *Bilbo*, but with great 'Difficulty. I travel but slowly, so that I believe it may be the Middle of the next 'Week before I shall get Home; and I am

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ſo much chagrined and waſted, that my Friends do not know me. I am extreamly diſguſted with all things, and have no other Comfort, but what my having withdrawn my ſelf from that Ill-will which the Court has taken up againſt me, affords me; and which, believe me, is ſuch, that no Man of Honour can bear it. And if, without the King's Favour, they have trampled upon all; will they, now they have it, ſpare either Lives or Honours? No, Life and every thing elſe will be made to give way to the Conſiderations, and to the infinite Reſpects, which they will have for every Determination. Don't wonder at my Head's being ſo full of Speculations; for in this long Journey I have muſed on all Affairs, and not without thinking of that which is out of the Kingdom; which I deſire you to remember, as there ſhall be Occaſion: For as things go at preſent, *Peru* occurs often to my Thoughts; neither ſhall I reckon that to be too remote a Baniſhment.

'I do a ſecond Time entreat you to remember my Concerns, as the Friendſhip I have for you obligeth you; tho' all that I have done for you, is but of little Value.

'In fine, in fine, we ſhall be pluck'd up by the Roots; being one and all of us deceiv'd, in imagining that we have found the Jewel

'el of the Goſpel: And our Maſter at the 'ſame time laughs at all this, and at us all.

'What I have ſaid, is enough to one that 'knows all Affairs better than I do.

'I do take care of my Health; and by 'Starts do entertain my ſelf with the Anti-'quitys which you gave me at *Pinto*; and 'which, had you known how good they 'are, I do not believe you would have part-'ed with them. Hereafter, if my Health 'will allow it, I will entertain my ſelf with '*Perez*. May our Lord preſerve your Il-'luſtrious Perſon, as I deſire. From *Inojo-'ſes* the 26th of *January*, 1579. Your Mer-'cy's Servant.

El Marquez Adelantado.

This Marquis had, ever ſince the Death of *Ruy Gomez*, been the Favourite. He is ſaid to have been a Perſon of the higheſt Genius, and of the nobleſt Qualitys of any that had ever been in that Poſt, in *Spain*. This Letter came no ſooner to *Antonio Perez*'s Hand, than he ſent it to the King; and on the Back of it he writ as followeth.

'This Letter was writ to me by the 'Marquis, as he was on his way Home; I 'intended to have kept it, to ſhew it to 'your Majeſty, for what he ſpeaks of *out of 'the Kingdom* and *Peru*: But upon Second 'thoughts, I do now ſend it, on Account of 'what

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'what he ſaith concerning Affairs here at 'Home, and which I believe is all true; for 'ſo it is, that they do haſten the Archbiſhop 'away from my Houſe; and are for whip-'ping me about the Streets.

To this the following Anſwer was return-ed by the King.

'What he ſaith of *out of the Kingdom*, 'and *of Peru*, I do not underſtand: And for 'the reſt, I believe, his Sickneſs muſt have 'helped to chagrin his Temper: I know 'not how you have been for ſome days, not 'having heard from you. On *Saturday* I ſhall 'go to *Madrid*, and will then give ſuch Or-'ders about all things as ſhall be moſt conve-'nient; and I will take Care that they ſhall 'not whip you about the Streets.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Royal Aſ-ſurances, *Antonio Perez* having been inform-ed, that tho' *Vaſquez* was known to be ſtill at work, yet he was not at all frown'd upon for it at Court; he writ the following Let-ter to the King.

'I Do here remit the Preſident's Diſpatch 'concerning *Navar*, to your Majeſty.; 'your Majeſty may believe that my Blood 'boyl'd within me to ſee how the Matter 'goes on; and which I have often told your 'Majeſty would, if delayed, cauſe greater 'Inconveniencys.

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' Inconveniencys. I muſt therefore ſuppli-
' cate your Majeſty either to come to ſome
' Reſolution, or to leave me to my Liberty,
' to take my own Satisfaction; and if there
' has not been Cauſe enough given for ſuch
' a Reſolution, or for ſuch a Puniſhment, I
' ſhall believe the Witchcraft: And the ra-
' ther, for ſeeing my Services, tho' with weak
' Talents, yet with great Fidelity and Loy-
' alty to your Majeſty, and with all the
' Pledges of Favour which I have had from
' your Majeſty, born down by my own ill
' Fortune, or by the good Luck of that other
' who has committed ſo many Faults, and
' who has put ſo great an Affront on ſo high
' a Lady, and on a Man who has always
' ſtudied to ſerve your Majeſty, and has
' ventured ſo much as I have done. I add
' no more leſt I ſhould burſt.

To this earneſt Expoſtulation, the follow-ing Anſwer was return'd by the King. ' I
' do here ſend you back the Preſident's Diſ-
' patch, which does not ſeem to require any
' Haſte. I want to know what you mean by
' *Navar*, you muſt not forget therefore to ac-
' quaint me with it. As to the Satisfaction you
' ſpeak of, it is in all Reſpects inconvenient;
' and you cannot but ſee how prejudicial it
' would be, for an hundred thouſand Cauſes:
' So I doubt not but your Wiſdom and Diſ-
' cretion,

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'cretion will take care to prevent it, espe-
'cially considering how ready I am, on my
'part, to do Justice: To burst will not do
'well, if there were no other Reason but
'that it would afford great Pleasure to the
'Plantiff's: My Strength will not allow me
'to apply my self to the various Affairs
'which are, at this time, in that Man's
'Hands.

But the Marquis *de los Velez* having died soon after he writ the foremention'd Letter, *Antonio Perez* was extreamly afflicted; having, by his Death, lost not only the greatest Friend he had in the World, but the only Witness that he had of *Escoveda's* having been kill'd by the King's Command: And having by this Letter laid this his irreparable Loss, with great Passion before the King; the King was pleas'd to write him the following consolatory Answer.

'I am so struck with this News, that I
'know not what I say; and the more I
'think of it, the more it afflicts me: My
'Loss, I am sure, is very great; but yours
'will not, I hope, be so, since I will not be
'wanting to you; and being sure of this, you
'may and ought to be of good Courage:
'And tho' I know not what I say of any
'thing else at this Time, yet what I have
'here said concerning you I do know, and
'will never unsay it.

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But notwithstanding all these Assurances which the King from time to time gave to *Antonio Perez*, *Vasquez* and his other Enemys observing that the King did not seem to be displeased with the Report of the Princess of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez* having been the Authors of *Escovedo*'s Death; they perswaded *Escovedo*'s Widow and eldest Son, to charge them both with it by Name: And which they having done in a Memorial which they deliver'd to the King; and the King being still willing to have it believ'd that *Escovedo* had been stabb'd on some private Pique, he did promise that they should have rigorous Justice done on all that should be convicted of having had any Hand in that Murder.

But the King had no sooner made this Promise, than he sent for *Antonio Perez* to come to him immediatly; and which he having done, and being certain that *Escovedo*'s Relations could have no Proof of his having been any ways concern'd in his Death, he consented to the King's giving way to the clamorous Petitioners prosecuting of him for it; but at the same time conjur'd him to hold so ticklish a Matter so fast in his own Hand, as to be still so far Master of it, as to put a Stop to it when it should be found necessary.

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The King having remitted the Petitioners Memorial to the Preſident of the Royal Court of *Caſtile*, did at the ſame time command *Antonio Perez* to go and acquaint him with the Secret of *Eſcovedo*'s Death; and to conſult with him how, without any immediate Interpoſition of the Royal Authority, a Stop might be put to its being proſecuted; which *Antonio Perez* having done, the Preſident ſent immediately to *Eſcovedo*'s Son to come to him, and who having waited on him, he told him very Gravely, 'That the 'King had put his, and his Mother's Memo-'rial into his Hands; wherein they had 'charg'd the Princeſs of *Eboli* and *Antonio* 'Perez, with his Father's Blood; and that 'as he had commanded him to do them 'Juſtice without Diſtinction of Perſon, Sex, 'or Quality, ſo he did promiſe him that they 'ſhould have Juſtice done: But there is 'one thing, ſaid the Preſident, I muſt tell 'you in Friendſhip, That conſidering who 'the Perſons are, and their high Quality 'and Poſts, which you accuſe, you had need 'have ſtrong and clear Proofs of their be-'ing Guilty; otherwiſe you will bring cer-'tain Deſtruction upon your ſelf and your 'Family: And in Confidence I will tell you 'one thing farther, that upon the Word of 'a Prieſt, I know the Princeſs of *Eboli* to

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'have had no more an Hand in your Fa-
'ther's Blood, than I had.

Young *Eſcovedo* was ſo terrify'd with what the Preſident had ſaid to him; that, having thank'd him for his good Advice, he promiſed, that neither he, nor his Mother, nor Brother, ſhould ſpeak or ſtir any more in the Proſecution of thoſe two great Perſons.

The Preſident having thus put a Stop to the main Wheels, he ſent to Secretary *Vaſquez* to come to him, and having carried him into a private Room, ſaid to him, 'Secre-
'tary *Vaſquez*, I hear you do ſollicite the
'King vehemently, to give way to the Prin-
'ceſs of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez* being pro-
'ſecuted, as the Authors of *Eſcovedo*'s Death;
'I muſt tell you, that for a Prieſt, as you are,
'to do ſo, having no Relation of *Eſcovedo*,
'nor being under no Obligations to him,
'nor in no Poſt that requires it of you, does
'not look well; beſides, I will tell you far-
'ther, that I know that *Eſcovedo* came not
'by his Death as you imagine he did.

But this grave Admonition of the Preſident's was ſo far from having the ſame Effect on Secretary *Vaſquez*, as that had which he gave to young *Eſcovedo*; that he believing from what the Preſident had hinted, that *Eſcovedo*'s Death had a State-ſecret in its Belly, he was more Zealous than before to pry into it, to find it out: And not being able to prevail

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prevail with *Eſcovedo*'s Widow, or either of her Sons, to go on with the Proſecution they had begun; he perſwaded a more remote Relation to undertake it: And who having undertook it, did, under his Direction, drive it on ſo furiouſly, that the King was ſtrangely diſtracted about the Courſe he was to take; knowing that if he ſhould abruptly put a Stop to the Proſecution, the World would then conclude, that *Eſcovedo* had been ſtabb'd by his Order; and fearing that if he ſuffer'd it to go on, it might end in a Detection of the whole Secret.

And into ſuch Straits as theſe, Princes, tho' never ſo great, will often be plunged; if the known Laws of the Land, are not the Rule whereby they ſquare all their Actions.

Antonio Perez, finding the Proſecution, being ſecretly puſhed by the Secretary *Vaſquez* and ſome other great Perſons about the Court, was like to be carried very high againſt him; did upon the King's being ſtrangely irreſolute in the Matter, deſire Leave to lay down his Offices and retire; whereby he ſaid, that Envy which gave Life and Motion to this Proſecution, would be extinguiſhed: And in this he appeared to be ſo immoveable; that the King, who would not hear of parting with him, commanded the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the Princeſs of *Eboli*, who he knew had both great Power with him, to perſwade him to

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change his Mind, and to make him a Promiſe of a Grant of Four Thouſand Ducats yearly; and to offer themſelves to be Sureties for its being paid, if he would hold his Offices: Which they having done, and told him, that he was much miſtaken if he thought he ſhould be able to weather this Storm ſooner if he left his Office, and the Court, than if he remain'd in them; he was prevail'd with to ſtay; hoping that after this he might have more Power to perſwade the King to diſcountenance thoſe Miniſters, who did under hand foment the Proſecution of *Eſcovedo*'s Death, than he had before.

But in this he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken, for as his quick-ſighted Enemys, obſerving that the Princeſs of *Eboli* and he were often together, did drive on the Proſecutor more eagerly than they had before; ſo the King that he might not bring himſelf under any Suſpicion, would not be perſwaded to do any thing that might diſcourage them ſo as to make them give it over. And as to *Vaſquez*, the King pretended that he could neither remove nor diſgrace him preſently, without doing a great Injury to ſeveral Perſons, who had their Buſineſs in his Hands at that Time.

The Princeſs of *Eboli*, finding *Antonio Perez*'s Enemys were encouraged by the King's Irreſolution to talk openly againſt her; ſhe writ

writ the following Letter to the King to complain of them; and to demand Satisfaction.

SIR,

'YOUR Majeſty having commanded the Cardinal of *Toledo* to ſpeak to me concerning what had paſſed betwixt your Majeſty and *Antonio Perez*; and to engage me to perſwade him, if it were poſſible, to change his Mind; I undertook to do it; tho' it was, I confeſs, contrary to my Judgement. For an innocent Man, after ſo many Perſecutions, to live without Honour or Reſt, is a Thing none ought to be content to ſubmit to; neither ought any Perſon to go about to perſwade him to it. But your Majeſty's Service can do all things.

'In a former Paper I acquainted your Majeſty with *Matthew Vaſquez* and his Complices having ſaid, that whoſoever reſorted to my Houſe, were ſure to loſe your Majeſty's Favour, for going thither; and ſince that, they have had the Impudence to ſay, that *Eſcovedo* was ſtabb'd on my Account; and that *Antonio Perez* was under ſo great Obligations to me, that if I deſired it of him, he could not refuſe to do it.

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'Now the Impudence of such Fellows being risen to such an Height; your Majesty, both as a King and as a Gentleman, ought so to resent it, as to make them feel the Weight of your Displeasure; which if your Majesty will not be pleased to do, being willing that my House should lose both the Authority and Estate of my Ancestors; and that the Services of the Prince my Husband should be thus rewarded; I have by this discharg'd my self with your Majesty, as to the Satisfaction which I owe to what I am.

'I desire your Majesty to send me back this Letter, wherein I have writ to you as to a Gentleman; and with the Confidence that may be reposed in one that is so; and with the Resentment also, which so great an Affront deserves.

The King being made very uneasy by this Letter, sent Father *Diego de Chaves*, a Dominican Friar, who was his Confessor, to the Princess of *Eboli*, to ask her whether she was able to prove what she had charg'd *Vasquez* with in her Letter; the Princess answer'd, *That it was notorious, and that Fame had spread it so that there could be no Want of Witnesses*: And being urg'd by the Confessor to name however some particular Persons, she reply'd, *She might name the King, who*

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who knew it ſo well, that he needed not to have call'd upon her to prove it. But having afterwards writ to the Cardinal of *Toledo* for his Advice in this Matter, the Cardinal bid her *not be ſhy to name Witneſſes, and to name him for one*; and accordingly, the Princeſs, the next time the Confeſſor waited upon her, named that Cardinal, and Friar *Hernando de Caſtillo*, who was the King's Chaplain and a famous Preacher, for Witneſſes; and to whom the Confeſſor having repair'd, they did ſatisfy him of the Truth of the Complaint which the Princeſs had made to the King of *Vaſquez*; and of that Secretary's being that Lady's, as well as *Antonio Perez*'s, known mortal Enemy.

The King therefore, in order to put a Stop to this angry Buſineſs, which he fear'd would end in a Diſcovery of *Eſcovedo*'s having been ſtabb'd by his Order; ſent his Confeſſor again to the Princeſs, to require her to be reconciled to *Vaſquez*, and to make him and *Antonio Perez* Friends. To whom the Princeſs's Anſwer was, 'That ſhe had 'given the King, tho' he did not want it, 'Satisfaction, as to the Juſtice of her Com-'plaint; and that naturally, Complaints, 'whether juſt or unjuſt, were puniſh'd no 'otherwiſe, but by the denying of Satis-'faction. And to the Reconciliation, ſhe 'ſaid, that as it was below her to enter in-

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'to Treatys of Friendſhip with ſuch a Fel-
'low as *Vaſquez*; ſo neither would the
'Nature of the Affront he had put upon her,
'allow of any Treaty about it; ſo that ſhe
'could not wonder enough at its being re-
'quired.

And *Antonio Perez*, when he was ſpoke to about the Reconciliation, anſwered, 'That as he was ready to releaſe the 'King from the Promiſe he had given him 'of Satisfaction, and to pardon all Offences, 'ſince his Majeſty was contented to ſuffer 'thoſe which had been committed againſt 'himſelf; ſo he was willing to foregoe the 'Rewards the King had promiſed him for 'his Services, if he might be permitted to 'retire from Court, in his Majeſties good 'Grace; in Teſtimony of his Fidelity, and 'of his having ſerv'd his Majeſty well.

Upon theſe two reſolute Anſwers, the King, without communicating his Intention to any, but to his Confeſſor, and to the *Conde de Baraias*, who were not in the Secret of *Eſcovedo*'s Murther, did reſolve to have them both arreſted, to force them to be reconciled to *Vaſquez*.

And accordingly, on the 28th of *July* 1579, which was above a Year after *Eſcovedo*'s Murther, the Princeſs of *Eboli*, who had been for ſome Time the Idol of the Court, was arreſted in the Night, and ſent a Priſoner

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to the Caſtle of *Villa de Pinto*; and the King is ſaid to have been ſo uneaſy after he had ſign'd the Warrant for that Princeſs's Impriſonment, that he went after it was Dark *incognito* to St. *Mary*'s Church, which fronted her Pallace; and ſtaid there, untill he ſaw her brought out a Priſoner: And being return'd Home, his Spirits are ſaid to have been in ſo violent an Agitation, that he walked about his Chamber till Five a Clock in the Morning, without ſpeaking a Word. The ſame Night *Antonio Perez* was arreſted likewiſe, and was made a Priſoner in *Madrid*, in the Houſe of an *Alcalde de Corte*; which was not ſo ſevere a Confinement as that of the Princeſs's.

The King being ſenſible that this Princeſs's great Relations would be much alarm'd with the News of her Impriſonment, did the next Day after write to the Duke *de Infantada*, and the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, who were both her near Kinſmen, to acquaint them with the Cauſe of her Confinement.

The King's Letter to the Duke de Infantada.

Duke my Couſin,

'YOU muſt have heard of ſome Differences, and of there being no good Underſtanding betwixt *Antonio Perez* and *Matthew Vaſquez*, two of my Secretarys; and in which the Princeſs of *Eboli* having

'interpoſed

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'interpoſed her Authority, I ſhew'd her 'that Reſpect that was reaſonable, both on 'the Account of her Relations, and for her 'having been the Wife of *Ruy Gomez*, who 'did me much Service; and for whom, as 'you know very well, I had a very great Fa-'vour. And being deſirous to ſee the Bot-'tom of thoſe Differences, in order to pro-'vide a Remedy for them, and to have them 'ended with the Secreſy that was conveni-'ent; I did order my own Confeſſor, Friar '*Diego de Chaves*, for whom I have a great 'Reſpect, to ſpeak in my Name to the Prin-'ceſs, to learn what her Complaint was of '*Matthew Vaſquez*, and on what it was 'grounded; and who having done that, and 'ſpoke likewiſe with the Perſons whom ſhe 'nam'd as her Witneſſes, he diſcover'd that 'it had no good Foundation; and ſo did, in 'purſuance of the Commiſſion which I had 'given him, do all that he was able to per-'ſwade the Princeſs to put a Stop to it, and 'not to ſuffer it to go any farther; and for 'to give way to *Antonio Perez* and *Matthew* '*Vaſquez* being reconciled and made 'Friends, as was convenient both for my 'Service, and for her ſelf, and them: But 'finding that after he had ſpoke to her ſe-'veral Times to comply with my moſt juſt 'Deſire, that ſhe ſet herſelf to hinder that Re-'conciliation; the Manner of her Proce-

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‘ dure, and the Liberty ſhe took therein, did
‘ compel me for her ſake, and for her Good,
‘ to order her to be Arreſted, and ſent laſt
‘ Night a Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Villa de*
‘ *Pinto*: And of this, you being ſo nearly rela-
‘ ted to her, I thought fit to adviſe you, as
‘ was reaſonable; and that you may under-
‘ ſtand that there is nothing I deſire ſo much
‘ as her Quiet and good Government; and
‘ the Advancement of her Family and Sons.
At *Madrid* the 29th of *July*, 1579.

Ruy Gomez, was a Native of *Portugal*, he had been Page and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to *Philip* when he was Prince; and by that Means had ſcrued himſelf ſo deep into his Maſter's Heart, whilſt it was young and tender; that no Man ever had that Power with *Philip* that he had; and which, tho' he was much envied for it, he held, without any great Strength of Genius, to his dying Day.

This Friar, *Diego de Chaves*, was firſt, Confeſſor to *Don Carlos* Prince of *Spain*; and as he had been placed about him by King *Philip*, ſo he was ſuſpected of having much promoted the Murder of that young Prince, by the Informations which he had given in againſt him to his Father; and of which, it is poſſible, one was, that he found him inclined to turn Proteſtant; in which Religion, it was generally believ'd, his Grandfather

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ther *Charles* V, to whom this Prince was very dear, had died but a few Years before.

There were various Conjectures about the true Cauſe of this Princeſs's Impriſonment: By ſome it was attributed to her being grown ſo inſolent, upon having ſo great a Stroke in all publick Councils, that the King could not endure her any longer. But ſhe being a Lady of the rareſt Wit and Beauty in all *Spain*; it was by moſt, attributed to her having rejected the King's ancient Gallantry, with Scorn; and accepted of *Antonio Perez*'s; who, it is certain, was much in her Company; and was known to be much given to Women: And for this Affront, it is ſaid, that the King did never forgive either of them; and that if he was not inſtrumental in raiſing this Suſpicion concerning *Eſcovedo*'s Death, yet that he was not ſorry for that Princeſs's having fallen under it, ſince it gave him a Handle to take his Revenge both on her and her Gallant at once; and which that Princeſs had given the King Cauſe to believe that *Antonio Perez* was, by her having once given him an Hint that ſhe knew of *Eſcovedo*'s having been kill'd by his Command: For as the King was certain that no Body but *Antonio Perez* could have told her that Secret, ſo he from thence concluded that there was more than an ordinary Familiarity betwixt them.

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them. By others it was attributed to nothing elſe, but to the King's being willing to confirm People in the Suſpicions they had taken up of *Eſcovedo*'s having been murthered upon her Account; and not by his Order. What became of this Princeſs after her Impriſonment, I cannot tell, having met with nothing after that concerning her, in any of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians that I have ſeen. Only that the King, after ſhe was in Priſon, (we are not told how long,) did order *Don John de Cuniga*, Commendador Major of *Caſtile*, to write to her, that if ſhe would promiſe upon the Word of a *Cavellero* or Gentleman, (for ſo it is worded,) never to correſpond any more with *Antonio Perez*, that he would ſet her at Liberty, and receive her into his Favour again: And that tho' ſhe did promiſe on the Word of a Cavellero, to communicate all Meſſages ſhe ſhould ever receive from *Antonio Perez*, to the King; yet becauſe ſhe would not promiſe to break off all Correſpondence with him, this Treaty was of no Benefit to her. So that I am inclined to think, that this Princeſs, no more than *Antonio Perez*, was never able to weather this Storm.

And here, upon the *Spaniards* reckoning a Promiſe upon the Word of a Cavellero, or Gentleman, to be the greateſt Security that can be given; I cannot but obſerve, that it

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is a Demonſtration of their reckoning *Honour* to be more powerful, with Perſons of Birth, than *Religion* or *Conſcience*. And that the Principle of Honour is engroſſed ſo by the Rank of Gentlemen, that it can neither be found lower than that Rank, nor be rais'd higher by any other Titles of Honour, no not by that of King. But to return to *Antonio Perez*.

The next Day after he was impriſoned, his Wife was, by the King's Order, viſited by the Cardinal of *Toledo*; and was by him aſſur'd, that neither her Husband's Life, Honour or Eſtate, were in any Danger; and that he had been arreſted for no other Reaſon, but to oblige him to be reconcil'd to Secretary *Vaſquez*.

And as ſuch Viſits from Cardinals, are not uſual; ſo this of *Toledo*'s, made every Body conclude, that *Antonio Perez* was not under any Diſgrace at Court; and in this Conceit People were much confirm'd by the Viſit he had from the King's Confeſſor on the Fifteenth Day after he was confin'd, and who having given him the ſame Aſſurances which the Cardinal of *Toledo* had before given to *Donna Joanna* his Wife; at parting, he bid him be of good Courage, for his Sickneſs was not unto Death.

The *Alcalde* in whoſe Houſe he was, had Orders likewiſe from the Court, not to let him

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him lack for any thing, and to ſuffer his Wife and Children to come to him as often as they would. And having been taken ill at the end of Four Months after his Confinement, he was remov'd to his own Houſe; where he had not been a Week, when *Rodrigo Manuel*, a Captain of the Guards came to him, to require him in the King's Name to be reconcil'd to Secretary *Vaſquez*; which he having promiſed with the Solemnity of an Oath, and for the Future to live in an entire Friendſhip with him, it was believ'd the Storm, which *Eſcovedo*'s Death had raiſed, was blown over, ſo that he ſhould have heard no more of it: And accordingly, upon his having entred into that Engagement, his Guards were remov'd, and he was permitted to go abroad to Church, and to be viſited; but was not allow'd to viſit any Body. And being ſtill continued Secretary of State, but without being permitted to go to the Office, or to wait upon the King; he diſpatched all Affairs in his own Houſe, which was near to the Court.

Under this eaſy Confinement he continu'd untill the year 1582, when the King went to *Portugal* to receive the Crown of that Kingdom, upon the Death of his Uncle the Cardinal *Don Henry*; and which ever ſince *Don Sebaſtian*'s Death, the King had been endeavouring by all Ways and Means to ſecure to

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himſelf; on which Occaſion the old Duke of *Alva*, having obſerved the Marquis *de los Velez* to be overjoy'd, he ſaid to him, *My Lord Marquis, why all this Joy? for if that ſhould come to paſs, where will your Son or mine, or your Brother and mine, find a Place to retire to, if they ſhould fall under the King's Diſpleaſure.* And the Duke after he had bolted out thoſe Words, fearing leſt the Marquis, or *Antonio Perez*, who was likewiſe preſent when they were ſpoke, might report them to his Diſadvantage, he went immediately to the King, and having told him what he had ſaid, added, *Sir, if you would have the Thoughts of my Heart concerning* Portugal; *tho' no Perſon can wiſh the Augmentation of your Grandeur more than I do, I do reckon that it is more for the Benefit of any great King to have a Place of Refuge for his Subjects near to his own Territorys, and eſpecially if it be at his Devotion, as much as* Portugal *is at your Majeſty's; than for to be Lord of it.* But this Opinion of that fierce Duke, did not hinder him afterwards from taking upon him the Command of that Army which drove *Don Antonio* out of *Portugal*; but with ſo much Eaſe, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* did at that Time acquire *Portugal*, as it had done all its other Territorys, not by fighting, but by marrying; according to that ingenious Verſe:

Bella gerant alii, Tu fœlix Auſtria nube.

After

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After the King had stay'd near two years in that Kingdom, *Antonio Perez* growing weary of his Confinement, dispatch'd one Father *Rengipho* a Jesuite to *Lisbon*, to sollicite the King to restore him to his entire Liberty; the Cause for which he had been at first confin'd, having been now so long remov'd.

But tho' that Jesuite was a faithful and diligent Sollicitor, and had the King's Ear very much; he was not able to obtain any thing but fair Promises for his Client: And of which when *Antonio Perez* saw that nothing came, he resolv'd to send his Wife, who was a Woman of Spirit and of a good Family, to *Lisbon*, to try if she could engage the Empress, who was there with her Brother, to interceed with the King for him; And having communicated this his Intention to the President of *Castile*, he did not only approve of it, but did encourage that Lady to undertake the Journey.

But the King, before she was got to *Lisbon*, having had Notice of her coming, he dispatch'd an *Alcalde* to stop her by the way; and having examin'd her, to send her back to *Castile*.

And the *Alcalde* having met her on the River *Tagus*, betwixt *Aldea Gallega* and *Lisbon*, he handled her so roughly, that being Eight Months gone with Child, she miscar-

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ried in the Boat, and having been carried back by the *Alcalde* to *Aldea Gallega*, ſhe was in that weak Condition judicially examin'd by him, concerning her Buſineſs in *Portugal*, and the Perſons who had adviſ'd her to take that Journey: And having carried her Examination to *Lisbon*, and put it into the King's own Hand, the King was ſo far from thanking him, as he hoped he would, that without once looking into it, or ſaying a Word to him, he threw it into the Fire and burnt it: And having preſently ſent for Father *Rengipho*, he commanded him to go immediately to *Aldea Gallega*, and to ſpeak to *Antonio Perez*'s Wife, ſo ſoon as ſhe was able to travel, to return Home; and to tell her, that upon his Word, both as a King and as a Gentleman, he would diſpatch her Husband's Affair as ſoon as he return'd to *Madrid*.

This kind Meſſage was believ'd to have been procured by the Empreſs; who was ſenſibly touched with what that poor Lady had ſuffer'd: But ſo was not the King's Confeſſor, who was an Inquiſitor, who ſaid publickly, that had the King known of the Preſident of *Caſtile*'s having conſented to her coming after him to *Lisbon* with her Clamours, before he had nam'd him to the Biſhoprick of *Corduba*, that he would never have preferred him to it.

When

When this kind Meſſage of the King's came to be publickly known, *Antonio Perez's* Enemys, of which they that are in high Poſts at Court never want good Store, dreading the Thoughts of having the Princeſs of *Eboli*, and him, whom they had ſo highly provoked, come into Favour again, they told the King, that all his Secretarys were much complained of, and that it was fit therefore, that according to the Cuſtom of former Reigns, they ſhould be viſited: And tho' *Antonio Perez* was the only Perſon that was aimed at in this Viſitation, yet to conceal their particular Spleen againſt him, they took in all the other Secretarys.

This Court, which is occaſionally erected, is call'd the *Viſita*, and in its Methods of Proceeding does very much reſemble that of the Inquiſition: The Perſons that are viſited being neither allow'd to have a Copy of their Proceſs, nor to know who they are that have informed and witneſſed againſt them; and who are commonly their greateſt Enemys: And whenever the Viſitors have a Mind to ruine a diſgraced Miniſter, they will keep Secret Depoſitions open, untill they reckon they have found Matter enough to condemn him upon. Only there is one thing wherein the *Viſita* is more juſt than the Inquiſition; which is, that it acquaints the Parties with the particular Miſ-

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demeanours, wherewith they ſtand charg'd.

The King, at the Importunity of *Antonio Perez*'s Enemys, having granted a Commiſſion for a *Viſita*; *Rodrigo Vaſquez*, a Judge, was made Preſident of it, notwithſtanding *Antonio Perez* had refus'd him, as his mortal Enemy, and had offer'd to make Proof of it: The King's Confeſſor was likewiſe one of the Viſitors; and tho' he knew him likewiſe to be his Enemy, yet, for Fear of diſpleaſing the King, he made no Objection againſt him.

The *Viſita* having met, and given all poſſible Encouragement to *Antonio Perez*'s Enemys to bring in Informations againſt him, they charg'd him at laſt with having been Guilty of many great Miſdemeanours in the Execution of his Office; but the Three chief and on which they laid the greateſt Streſs, were, Firſt, That he had received Ten thouſand Ducats from the Grand Duke of *Florence*; Secondly, That he had publiſhed the King's Secrets; Thirdly, That he had both added and left out divers Paſſages in Letters which had been writ to the King in Cyphers. The Firſt of theſe Charges was own'd, but was denied to be a Miſdemeanour; the Sum of Ten thouſand Ducats, as appear'd on the Books of publick Accompts, having been conſtantly paid to the Crown of *Spain* by the Grand Duke, upon his receiving the Inveſtiture of *Siena*:

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And upon the ſame Books it likewiſe appeared, that ſo much of that Sum as was due to the King had been paid to *Sebaſtian Saint Oyo*, who had an Order from the King to receive it; and whoſe Diſcharge for it, having been ſhewed to the King by *Antonio Perez*'s Wife, the King commanded her to carry it to his Confeſſor, who was one of the Viſitors; which ſhe having done, the Confeſſor was ſo confounded when he ſaw it, and knew it had been brought to him by the King's Order, that he deſired it might be left with him to peruſe it at his Leiſure; which having been granted, he afterwards deny'd that he had ever ſeen any ſuch Diſcharge; however, the King had ſeen it, and St. *Oyo* who gave it, was ſtill alive.

But tho' *Antonio Perez* had thus expos'd and triumphed over the Malice of his Viſitors, as to this Article; and which in all Probability had been ſtarted for no other End, but to raiſe a Clamour of his having received a Penſion from a foreign Prince; yet as to the other Two he would return no Anſwer to them, before he had writ to the King, to know whether he would have thoſe Secrets of State laid open, which muſt be publiſhed, if the Viſitors inſiſted on his making his Defence.

But the King not being willing to have that done; ſent his Confeſſor to him to hear

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his Defence, in Private, as to those Two Articles. And whereas they had both been gathered out of Letters which he had writ to *Don John* and to *Escovedo*, whilst they were in *Flanders*, and which Letters had been found amongst *Escovedo*'s Papers, he first appeal'd to the King whether the Letters whereon those Articles had been grounded, had not been all perus'd by him, and approv'd before they were sent; and to satisfy the Confessor presently, he shew'd him the Orders he had, under the King's own Hand, for every thing he had writ in those Letters. The Confessor plainly perceiving by what he had seen, that he could with great Ease vindicate himself at the King's Cost; told him, that if he would make no publick Defence as to those two Articles, he would undertake that no Sentence should be pass'd upon him by the *Visita*: But tho' *Antonio Perez* complain'd of it as a very great Hardship not to be allow'd to make his Defence after the *Visita* had Hand over Head charg'd him with Two such great Misdemeanours; nevertheless, to gratify the King, when he was call'd on to make his Defence, he made a Declaration, that rather than discover the King's Secrets, he would undergo any Punishments the *Visita* should inflict on him. And his Wife having the same Day met the Confessor at St. *Domingo*'s Church, he bid her

be

be in no Pain for her Husband, for he did aſſure her that the *Viſita* would not condemn him in enough to buy a *Corporal*, or Cheſt for their Veſtry: the Cardinal of *Toledo* likewiſe, when he ſaw the Articles, did declare openly, that the *Viſita* could not condemn him in the Handkerchief he had in his Hand; and another Grandee ſaid, that tho' he ſhould not defend himſelf, they could not condemn him in Three hundred Reals.

But the King being ready at that time to go to *Arragon*, to hold a Cortes of that Kingdom at *Monſong*; it was apprehended that *Antonio Perez*, whoſe Anceſtors were *Arragonezes*, finding himſelf ſo cruelly perſecuted, might fly thither and by his Complaints diſturb the King's Buſineſs: The *Viſita* therefore, tho' it paſſed no Sentence, becauſe the Confeſſor had promiſed that it ſhould not, did make an Act which was Tantamount; having condemn'd him by it, to loſe all his Offices, to be kept a cloſe Priſoner for Two years, and to pay Thirty thouſand Crowns to the King. And as this Act was ſign'd only by a Notary, (for the ſame Reaſon I ſuppoſe that it was not call'd a Sentence) ſo when that Notary was ask'd how he dar'd to do ſuch an irregular Thing, his Anſwer was, What would you have me do? I was commanded by the *Viſita* to ſign it. Of this Act *Antonio Perez* had no Notice, untill an

an *Alcalde* came to his Houſe with a Warrant to carry him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Terrevagana*; and having, after he underſtood the *Alcalde*'s Buſineſs, entertain'd him in Diſcourſe untill a Servant did intimate to him by a private Sign that the Cardinal of *Toledo* was for his taking Sanctuary in a Church; on pretence of going into the next Room, he ſlipt out of the Door, and threw himſelf into the firſt Church he met with: And when he was there, fearing leſt his Enemys might take him from thence by Force, on Pretence that his Crimes being of a publick Nature, had not the Benefit of a Sanctuary; he ſupplicated the Pope's Nuncio not to ſuffer the Privileges of Holy Church to be violated, as they muſt be openly if he were taken by Force out of its Sanctuary: Upon which Petition the Nuncio having nam'd ſome learned Eccleſiaſticks, they did by two Reports which they made of it, declare that nothing was alledg'd againſt *Antonio Perez*, that could debar him the Benefit of the Church's Sanctuary. But the Malice of his Enemys being too violent to be ſtopp'd by any Reports, they inſiſted on his being convicted of Miſdemeanours of a publick Nature; and having accordingly dragged him out of the Church, and ſent him Priſoner to *Terrevagana*, he was there committed to the Keeping of the Licentiat *Tores Deavala*, who was ſuch

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ſuch a Tyger, that he had boaſted of having put above a Thouſand People to the Queſtion upon the Rack. On the Twentieth Day after he had been a Priſoner in this Caſtle, the Act of the *Viſita* was firſt ſhew'd to him; and he was then told that it was upon that Act that he had been made a Priſoner: His Wife and Children, of which ſome were under Ten years old, were made cloſe Priſoners at the ſame time; and which was done for no other End, but to compel that Lady to deliver all her Husband's Papers; and particularly thoſe which the Confeſſor had ſeen in the King's own Hand, when he took the Priſoner's private Defence: And to oblige her to do this, they uſed her and her Children ſo cruelly, that ſhe miſcarried in the Priſon; and having in that dangerous Condition petition'd to have her Confeſſor, that ſhe might confeſs herſelf to him; the *Conde de Baraias*, who was now Preſident of *Caſtile*, ſent her Word, that that could not be allow'd, but that he would ſend another Prieſt to her that ſhould confeſs her if ſhe pleas'd: But notwithſtanding they did by ill Uſage, and by Threats and Promiſes, labour to bring this Lady to tell them where her Husband's Papers were all lodg'd, ſhe never did it, before they brought a Letter to her from her Husband, beſeeching her, as ſhe lov'd him and her Children, to deliver all his

his Papers to the King's Confeſſor, who was at that time with the King in *Arragon*: In obedience to which Order ſhe ſent two Boxes lock'd and ſeal'd, full of Papers, to *Monſong*, and with them a Letter to the Confeſſor, in which ſhe writ, that ſhe truſted him with all the *Deſcargos* of her Husband's Life and Honour; and conjured him therefore to keep them in ſafety, for all Times and Neceſſitys; and the Perſons by whom they were deliver'd, having call'd them *Deſcargos* likewiſe, the Confeſſor, with ſome Warmth, ſaid, 'Burn all 'ſuch *Deſcargos* as theſe, and let Favours and 'more Favours be heaped on *Antonio Perez* 'for his *Deſcargos*; and when the Keys of the Boxes were offer'd to him, he would not take them, but bid them carry them to the King, by whom they were receiv'd with a Joy that ſufficiently demonſtrated how well pleas'd he was with his having got thoſe Papers into his Hands. But tho' upon Delivery of the Papers, *Donna Joanna* and her Children were preſently ſet at Liberty, her Husband was continued a cloſe Priſoner, until the King return'd from *Arragon*; the Confeſſor having in the mean while, by a Letter, aſſured *Donna Joanna*, that her Husband's Papers ſhould not be ſhew'd to any Perſon living, and that not a Tittle of them ſhould be loſt. And ſo kind did the Confeſſor appear to be, that when *Donna Joanna* complain'd

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plain'd to him, when he was return'd to *Madrid*, of the barbarous Uſage her Husband was ſtill under; he told her, that if they did not give over perſecuting of him, he would run about the Streets roaring like a Madman, and having proclaim'd all the Secrets and Myſterys of that Buſineſs, would reſtore him all his Papers. But tho' after that, he was uſed much worſe than he had been before, the Confeſſor's Gravity was not at all diſcompos'd by it, nor did he ever reſtore the Papers as he had promiſed. The King ſtay'd the longer in *Arragon* for his having been met at *Saragoza* by the Duke of *Savoy*, who married the Infanta *Donna Catharina* the King's youngeſt Daughter there, and with whom the King went to *Barcelona*, where the new married Couple embarked for *Italy*.

So ſoon as the King return'd to *Caſtile*, *Antonio Perez* was not only releas'd out of Priſon, but was permitted to live in his own Houſe at *Madrid*; where he was viſited publickly by moſt of the Grandees and Nobles about the Court; and having ſoon after deſir'd Leave of the King to go abroad in the Holy Week to the divine Offices, the Confeſſor ſent for a Prieſt who was Tutor to his eldeſt Son, and bid him tell his Patron that he might in a good Hour go to his divine Offices at our Lady of *Atocha*; And the Prieſt having asked him, what *Rodrigo Vaſ-*

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quez and the other Judges and Viſitors would ſay to it, he bid him do what he had commanded him, and not concern himſelf with what others ſaid.

The Empreſs likewiſe, who had a great Compaſſion for *Donna Joanna*, who was well known to her; commanded the Baron *de Kevenlever* the Imperial Ambaſſador, to go in her Name to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, and to ask him, Why ſince he had a great Kindneſs for *Antonio Perez*, he did not acquaint him with the King her Brother's favourable Intentions? But all the Anſwer the Ambaſſador was able to draw from that Cardinal, was, that her Imperial Majeſty who was the King's own Siſter, might ſpeak of many Things which it was not ſafe for him to mention, who was a Subject: However that Cardinal having a few Days after ſeen *Antonio Perez*'s eldeſt Daughter in a Church, he called her to him, and bid her ſpeak to her Father to provide himſelf a rich Suit of Cloaths, for he intended in a few Days to give him a Viſit, and to go with him all over the Court. And *Rodrigo Vaſquez* having been asked by a Perſon of Quality, how *Antonio Perez*'s Matters went, did anſwer, What would you have me ſay? the King is ſometimes in haſte and lets us looſe, and of a ſudden again he moves ſlowly and reins us in; for my part I can't comprehend

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the Myſterys of the Engagements which there muſt be between the King and that Man.

But now when all Things look'd thus ſerene, his Enemys Fears of his coming into Favour again did revive; and having no other way to come at him, but by bringing *Eſcovedo*'s Death upon the Stage, after it had been near Twelve Years buried, they perſwaded young *Eſcovedo* to reſume the Proſecution of it now that the *Conde de Baraias*, who was known to be no Friend to *Antonio Perez*, was Preſident of *Caſtile*; and who had been heard to ſay, that when a King has done a Wrong to a Subject, the only Remedy to be thought of was to ſupport it.

So young *Eſcovedo*, notwithſtanding his former Promiſe, having been prevail'd with to revive the Proſecution; he purſued it with that Heat, that he had *Antonio Perez* taken out of his Houſe at *Madrid* and ſent a Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Pinto*, from whence after a cloſe Confinement of Nine Weeks he was brought back to *Madrid* in order to be try'd. But before his Tryal came on, he did by a Letter lay before the King the great Inconveniencies which muſt needs attend his being brought under a rigorous Examination about *Eſcovedo*'s Death; humbly and moſt earneſtly beſeeching him, for his own Sake more than his, not to ſuffer that Matter to be carried any farther. But

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But the King, who from the Beginning to the End of this Affair did act like one enchanted, having return'd him no Anſwer; and the Day being ſet whereon his Examination was to begin, he was ſtrangely diſtracted, whether he had beſt confeſs all, or deny all; being certain that his Proſecutor, beſides ſome Preſumptions which he and his Confederates had been Twelve Years a picking up, could not have any Evidence of his having had any Hand in his Father's Death: And having in great Agonies of Mind turned that whole Matter over and over in his Thoughts, he reſolv'd at laſt to plead not Guilty, and to put the Proſecutor upon his Proofs: The Thing that determin'd him to take this Courſe, was, that the laſt Time, tho' it was Twelve years before, the King had given him any Directions in that Matter, he had expreſsly forbid him ever to diſcover that *Eſcovedo* had been kill'd by his Order; and ſo fearing that by a Confeſſion he might draw the King's heavy Diſpleaſure upon himſelf, he pleaded not Guilty when he was brought upon his Tryal: And having been allow'd Ten Days to prepare his Defence in, he writ moſt paſſionately to the King, now that he had thought fit to ſuffer that Matter to be brought to a Criſis, for Directions how to behave himſelf; fearing there might be Preſumptions

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which would juſtify their putting him on the Rack: But tho' there was not a Word to be drawn from the King, the Confeſſor on this Occaſion did write him the Two following Letters; to which the King was undoubtedly privy, tho' the Confeſſor did pretend to write them as a Friend, that was ſo officious as to give Counſel before it was asked.

The King's Confeſſor's Letter to *Antonio Perez.*

SIR,

'BEing touched with the great Tribulations you and your Family have been 'ſo long under; I conſider'd with my ſelf, 'whether I ought not, according to the Direction of Charity, to give Advice to one 'that wants it; tho' he has not ask'd it: 'And did at laſt reſolve to do ſo; and muſt 'therefore tell you, that if in Reality and 'Truth you have a peremptory Excuſe as 'to this Fact, that being asked about it 'you ought plainly to confeſs it; which will 'in my Opinion help you out of all your 'Troubles; this Matter having been, and 'is ſtill the Foundation of them all: And 'then let every one anſwer for himſelf. 'God guard you many Years in Health and 'Reſt, which you and your Family want ſo

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'much: I do not tell you how much Pain
'this Buſineſs has given me: God knows it
'and ſees it; and ſo does our Lord the
'King.

From the Royal St. Lawrence,
the 5th of September, 1589.

To this Letter of the Confeſſor's, the following Anſwer was preſently return'd by *Antonio Perez.*

SIR,

'I Think you would do well to conſider
'a ſecond Time what you have adviſ'd
'me to do in your Letter; and whether
'Conſcience will allow one out of his own
'Mouth to condemn himſelf, and in a
'weighty Cauſe, when there is not Proof
'enough againſt him to juſtify his having
'been apprehended; and eſpecially when
'that cannot be done without doing an In-
'jury to many innocent Perſons: And con-
'ſider likewiſe, whether it be ſafe to di-
'vulge that which the King has command-
'ed to be conceal'd. But if at laſt *Eſcovedo*
'muſt have Satisfaction given him, whe-
'ther it would not be better to have it done
'at my Coſt, than to the Prejudice of his
'Majeſty and his Affairs, by the Diſcovery
'of his Secrets; and to the Injury of other
'innocent

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' innocent Perſons : And eſpecially whether
' after his Majeſty having commanded, if
' not entreated me, never to make any Diſ-
' covery of his having had any Hand in that
' Matter, the beſt way would not be to
' come to an Agreement with *Eſcovedo*'s
' Son.

To this Anſwer of *Antonio Perez*, the Confeſſor reply'd preſently.

S I R,

' I Have receiv'd yours of the 10th Cur-
' rent in Anſwer to mine, and tho' I
' have return'd to conſider of what I did
' then write, as you charg'd me to do ; yet
' after having done it, I am ſtill of the ſame
' Mind, that there is no way ſo plain to de-
' liver you out of a cloſe Priſon, and out of
' ſo many other Troubles as you have ſuf-
' fer'd, to no viſible Purpoſe, as to declare
' the Truth of all that paſſed concerning *Eſ-*
' *covedo*'s Death ; which is what is asked of
' you ; and to declare likewiſe by whoſe Or-
' der it was procured ; but without divulg-
' ing the Cauſes why it was ordered : As
' to which, you are not to alledge any Par-
' ticulars ; nor to give any Sign of them.

' And as to your having objected, that it
' would be a Load on Conſcience, for one

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‘who has a Wife and ſo many innocent
‘Children, in ſo weighty a Cauſe to con-
‘demn himſelf out of his own Mouth; I
‘Anſwer, (conſidering what your Wife has
‘often told me, and the Papers which ſhe
‘has ſhew'd me,) what I have advis'd ſeems
‘to be conformable both to Chriſtianity
‘and to right Reaſon, being ſo order'd as I
‘directed it: For by that Means you will
‘not be Guilty of forſwearing your ſelf in
‘Judgment; or, if you have done it al-
‘ready, you will not remain in your Sin.
‘And neither will you, by ſo doing, con-
‘demn your own Innocency, nor that of
‘others: On the contrary, you will mani-
‘feſt it, and ſave both your ſelf and them.
‘*Diego Martinez*, who was one of the Exe-
‘cutioners, having, for not confeſſing the
‘Truth, ſuffer'd a long and cloſe Impriſon-
‘ment, and divers other Troubles; as you
‘your ſelf are ſuffering at this Time: For,
‘according to the beſt of my Knowledge
‘in the Laws, a Secular Prince, who hath
‘ſuch Power over the Lives of his Subjects,
‘as for a juſt Cauſe, and according unto the
‘Forms of Juſtice, to put them to Death;
‘may, having Witneſſes, puniſh them with
‘Death without thoſe Forms: The Orders
‘and Forms of Juſtice being, for the moſt
‘part, no parts of the Law; or at moſt
‘they

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'they are things that may be diſpens'd 'with. But ſuppoſe a King ſhould be un- 'juſt in not obſerving the Forms of Law; 'yet if one that is his Subject ſhall at his 'Command kill one who is his Subject like- 'wiſe, he is not Guilty; being bound to be- 'lieve that his Prince had juſt Cauſe to 'command it to be done; all the Actions 'of Sovereigns having the Preſumption of 'Law for their being Juſt: And, where 'there is no Fault, there can be no Puniſh- 'ment. Now this, I think, makes it plain, 'that by confeſſing the Truth you will not 'condemn your ſelf, but on the contrary you 'will manifeſt both your own Innocency, 'and that of your Complices; of which one is 'now in Priſon, and the reſt muſt have fled, 'and you your ſelf are in the State we ſee 'you in.

'All which Sufferings would be reme- 'dy'd, if you would but declare the Truth: 'And an End being once thus put to this 'Buſineſs, his Majeſty would ſatisfy *Eſcove-* 'do, who does now lie at him continually 'and by ſo many Ways, for to have Juſtice, 'that he is not able to excuſe the letting 'him looſe upon you: Whereas, if you 'would but confeſs the Truth, if after that '*Eſcovedo* ſhould offer to turn himſelf againſt 'his Majeſty, he would know how to make

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'him hold his Peace; and, having baniſh'd 'him the Court, would be thankful to any 'Perſon, (if he has not declar'd the Cauſes 'for which *Eſcovedo* was kill'd, which as 'has been ſaid muſt not by any Means be 'publiſhed,) that would perſecute him.

'Now all that I have here ſaid at Large, 'with what I writ in my former, was writ 'purely in compaſſion for your great Suffer-'ings; and not to perſwade you to any 'thing contrary to the Dictates of your own 'Mind: Only this I will ſay, that tho' my 'Advice may not be the beſt, yet it is cer-'tainly better than that of Suffering this 'Matter to go on as it does; ſince he that 'is to be your Judge knows the Truth of it, 'your own Lady having often told it to the 'Conde of *Baraias*, and who for that Rea-'ſon will be ſatisfy'd with the leſs Proof; 'and which, now the Matter is wholly left 'to the Law, may in time encreaſe, and 'bring you and your Complices under great 'Miſerys, or at leaſt keep you long in Pri-'ſon, and under other Hardſhips. As to the 'Method which you propoſe of coming to 'an Agreement with *Eſcovedo*, I do very 'much approve of it; but the King who is 'angry with him, both for his own, and his 'Father's Faults, to which you are no 'Stranger, muſt not at all be concern'd in 'it.

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'it. If you your ſelf can bring that Agree-
'ment about, it will do well in all Reſpects.
'May our Lord direct you, as ſhall be moſt
'Convenient for his holy Service, and for
'your Advantage.

From the Royal St. *Lawrence.*

Theſe Letters of the Confeſſor's, tho' they appear to be very Kind and Tender; yet, as *Antonio Perez* had never found him his Friend, ſo it is moſt probable that he deſign'd him no Kindneſs, by the Advice he gave him in them: But did counſel him to confeſs the Death, and that he caus'd it by the King's expreſs Command, for no other End but to vindicate the King; againſt whom, if he deny'd it, as he did afterwards, he believ'd the Priſoner, having had all his Papers taken from him, would never be able to prove it: For if the King upon *Antonio Perez* having confeſs'd that Death in Judgment, would have taken it upon himſelf, he might have done that before much more privately; and by having whiſper'd it into *Eſcovedo*'s Ear, might have ſtopt both his Mouth and his Proſecution. And that this was the Confeſſor's Deſign, in this his officious Charity, as he called it, will appear pretty plain, from the Courſe that was taken with the Priſoner, after he was come to an

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Agreement with *Escovedo*, and with the Confessor's Approbation.

But here, for Variety, and to give some Relief to a long Melancholy Scene; I shall present the Reader with a Story, and which is told by *Antonio Perez* of his own Knowledge, on Occasion of what the Confessor had said in his second Letter, concerning the Power which Kings have over the Lives of their Subjects; and which Story I shall here set down in the Relator's own Words.

'I was at *Madrid*, (saith the Relator) 'when a certain Proposition came forth 'condemn'd by the Inquisition, which had 'been affirm'd by one, (it is of no import-'ance to name him,) in a Sermon preach'd 'before the King in *St. Hierom*'s Chappel. 'The Proposition was, *That Kings have an* '*absolute Power over the Persons and Estates* '*of their Subjects.* For which Doctrine 'the Preacher having been taken up by 'the Inquisition, besides some other Cen-'sures that he underwent, he was en-'joyn'd to recant it, in the same Church, 'and with all the Solemnitys of a Judicial 'Act; and which he did, by reading the fol-'lowing Form of Words in the same Pulpit.

Whereas on such a Day I did in this Place affirm, That Sovereign Princes have an absolute Power over the Lives and Estates of their Subjects;

jects; I do now retract that Doctrine, as erroneous; and on the contrary do affirm, That Sovereign Princes have no more Power over their Subjects, than what is given to them by the Laws of God and Man; and are not to rule their Subjects by their own free and abſolute Will.

The Relator goes on, 'I was well acquainted with the Perſon by whom this 'Propoſition was qualify'd, and by whom 'the Form of Words, which was read by 'the Recantor, was drawn up; and which 'he did with a very good Will, in order to 'root up that poiſonous Weed, which he 'ſaw ſpringing up; and of which, to my 'Knowledge, he had taken great Notice. His Name was Doctor Fryar *Hernando de Caſtilla*; he was Conſultor of the Holy Office, and the King's Preacher: and for his great Learning and ſingular Eloquence was much known and eſteem'd not only in *Spain*, but in foreign Parts alſo, but particularly in *Italy*; and of whom Doctor *Velaſco*, a wiſe Divine, did uſe to ſay, that a Viol in the Hand of *Fabricii Dentici*, was not ſo melodious as the Tongue of Maſter *Hernando de Caſtilla.*

Antonio Perez was told by this famous Preacher, That he owed his Name, and all the Eſteem he was in, to ſome ingenious Friends who at his Requeſt had uſed to hear him

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him Preach; and who did afterwards tell him freely of all that they judged to be Wrong, in the Language, Compoſition, or Delivery of his Sermons.

But how powerful ſoever his Eloquence was, the King was not ſo charm'd with it, as not to be able to baniſh him the Court; for having, amongſt his other conſcientious Freedoms, told the Confeſſor, that he had much to anſwer for, for having given the King, when he was dangerouſly Sick at *Badajox*, Abſolution, before he had given Satisfaction to *Antonio Perez*, whom he had ſuffer'd to be ſo much proſecuted, for a thing, which the Confeſſor knew he had done by the King's expreſs Command. Neither was this Fryar the only Perſon that lay'd that Matter home to the Confeſſor's Conſcience, he having been told one Day by *Donna Joanna*, upon his having ſaid, *That he could do no more for her Husband than he had done:* Yes, *Sir, your Paternity can and ought to do more; for you ought not to give the King Abſolution untill he has done my Husband Juſtice.* But if here, from the Inquiſitors having thus cenſured the forementioned high Prerogative Doctrine, any ſhould imagine the Inquiſitors to be great Friends to the Legal Rights and Libertys of the People; they do very much miſtake them: For it is certain

tain that they neither are, nor ever were Friends to thoſe Rights: Only not being certain what Princes they may come to have, they do not care that the Prince's Power ſhould be believ'd to have no Bounds but what his own Will ſets to it; leſt at ſome time or other, the Church, or their Courts, may come to ſuffer by its being believ'd to be ſo boundleſs: For tho' they are very willing to have Princes abſolute over all their Lay Subjects, they will not endure to hear that they ſhould be ſo, no not in Temporals, over the Clergy. But to return.

Antonio Perez being extreamly diſtracted about the Courſe he was to take, did at laſt reſolve to treat with *Eſcovedo*; and the rather becauſe the Confeſſor had approv'd of that, as in all Reſpects the beſt Method that could be taken to put an End to this long Tragedy: And having offered *Eſcovedo* Twenty thouſand Ducats if he would let fall the Proſecution of his Father's Death, and ingage never to revive it any more, the Bargain was ſtruck up betwixt them: And upon that great Sum's having been paid according to the Agreement, *Antonio Perez* did reckon that he ſhould never hear any more of it; and that the King at one time or other would re-imburſe him that Money.

But, to the Amazement of the whole Court, within a Day or two after that Money

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ney was paid, this Affair had a new turn given it: For *Rodrigo Vaſquez*, dreading nothing ſo much as *Antonio Perez*'s coming into Favour again, told the King, now that *Antonio Perez* had, by giving Satisfaction to *Eſcovedo*, put a full Stop to the Proſecution, he was of Opinion, that ſince it was in every Body's Mouth that Secretary *Eſcovedo* had been kill'd by his Majeſty's Command, that his Majeſty, for the Vindication of his own Royal Honour, ought to command *Antonio Perez* to declare in Judgment the Cauſes for which he had order'd him to have *Eſcovedo* made away, if he ever did command it; and to require this of him by a Writing under his own Royal Hand, as a thing that was convenient for his Service: To which the King, being reſolv'd to deny that he had ever given any ſuch Order, did conſent; and did accordingly put ſuch a Paper into *Rodrigo Vaſquez*'s Hand, to ſhew in Judgment to the Priſoner.

But whatſoever it was that mov'd the King to make this ſtrange Step, both *Rodrigo Vaſquez* and the Confeſſor did reckon, that whether he declar'd the Cauſes or not, that they ſhould gain their Points, which were the Ruine of the Priſoner and the Vindication of the King's Honour: Reckoning that if he did declare the Cauſes, he would not be able to prove them, having no Papers

to

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to do it with; and that if he did not declare them, now that the King had thus requir'd him to do it, the World would from thence conclude the King to be Innocent: The Confeſſor having been heard to ſay, *That the Honour of a King was ſo Sacred a Thing, that it ought to be preferr'd to the Reputation or Satisfaction of any Subject whatſoever.* And as it was univerſally believ'd, that it was upon this Principle that the King granted the foreſaid Order to *Rodrigo Vaſquez*, ſo on that Occaſion, a certain Perſon of Quality ſaid to a Friend, *That he had often heard of Subjects being in Conſpiracys againſt their Kings; but this was the firſt Time that he had ever heard of a King's being in a Conſpiracy againſt a Subject.*

And when the Cardinal of *Toledo* heard of this Order, it put him into ſuch a Rage, that he went preſently to the Confeſſor, and ſaid to him, 'Sir, either I am a Fool, or this 'you are upon now is a fooliſh Buſineſs: 'For if the King commanded *Antonio Perez* 'to have *Eſcovedo* made away, and will 'own that he did it, to what Purpoſe does 'he now command him to declare the 'Cauſes why it was order'd; ſince *Antonio* '*Perez* was no Judge, but only a Secretary, 'or rather the Executioner of the King's Will 'in that Matter? Beſides, at the End of 'Twelve

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'Twelve Years, and after you have taken 'all his Papers from him, and the Perſons 'who could have been his Witneſſes, may 'be all dead; to require him to declare the 'Cauſes, I muſt tell you, is an aſtoniſhing 'Thing. Raiſe Five hundred Perſons to 'Life again, and reſtore him all his Papers 'without having look'd them over and 'read them, and then require him to de-'clare thoſe Cauſes.

With this home Charge, from ſo great a Prelate, the Confeſſor was ſo confounded, that he did not know what to ſay; but having recover'd his Spirits a little, he anſwered, 'Your illuſtrious Lordſhip may be ſa-'tisfy'd that all will end well, and that this 'Order was granted by the King only to 'comply a little with *Rodrigo Vaſquez*'s Im-'portunity. This Cardinal, whoſe Name was *Gaſpar de Quiroga*, was a Man of great Prudence and Dexterity in publick Buſineſs, and was likewiſe ſo good a Manager of his own private Revenues, that, dying very old, he left an immenſe Treaſure in Money behind him; all which, he having dy'd without a Will, was divided by the Pope into Three equal Parts; one was apply'd to pious Uſes, the Second was given to the King, and the Third the Pope took to himſelf, as that Cardinal's Heir; which, I think, he pre-

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tends to be to all Clergymen, unleſs they have purchaſed a Diſpenſation from the See of *Rome*, to diſpoſe of the Goods, or of a certain Portion of them, which they ſhall be poſſeſſed of at their Death. The Pope's Nuncio did likewiſe, and in his Maſter's Name, urge the Confeſſor to remove the great Scandal which *Antonio Perez*'s Affair had ſo long given to all Chriſtendom, and to the Injury of ſo many innocent Perſons; requiring that Juſtice might be no longer offended, by having its Name made uſe of for private Ends, and to gratify ſome Peoples Malice. With which and many more Sollicitations the Confeſſor was ſo offended, that he began to change his Note; and did ſend a Friar both to *Antonio Perez* and to his Lady, to tell them, That they muſt not any longer have Juſtice in their Mouths, but muſt beg for Mercy: And *Donna Joanna* having upon this Meſſage waited on the Confeſſor, and told him, that they deſired nothing but to have Juſtice done them; he anſwered her in a Paſſion, Let but the Holy Week be over, and you ſhall have Juſtice done you.

The Order which had made all this Noiſe, having been ſhew'd to the Priſoner in Judgment, he was requir'd by the Judges to yield Obedience to it: And upon having deny'd to declare the Cauſes, was condemned by

by them to the Rack, to oblige him to confeſs them: *Antonio Perez*, now the Marquis *de los Velez* was dead, having no living Witneſs, did reſolve to endure the Rack, rather than make a Confeſſion; which before ſuch Judges he knew it would not be eaſy for him to prove: Or if he ſhould prove it, he knew the King would never pardon him for it. But tho' he mounted that great Engine of Inhumanity, with this Reſolution, they tortured him ſo ſeverely when they had him upon it, that not being able to endure the Tortures any longer, he cry'd out, that if they would take him off the Rack he would confeſs all that he knew; and which having been granted, he made a ſummary Confeſſion; and as full, as he thought, with Reſpect to the King, it was ſafe for him to make: Inſomuch that when his Confeſſion was read over by *Rodrigo Vaſquez* and *John Gomez*, the latter was heard to ſay, the King himſelf has given the ſame Account of this Matter to ſome Perſons: And in Confirmation of the Truth of all that he had confeſs'd concerning the Cauſes of *Eſcovedo*'s Death, he appeal'd to *Hernando de Eſcobar* Archdeacon of *Alarcon*, who was the Perſon that ciphered and deciphered all the King's Letters at that Time. But the whole Town and Country being perſwaded that *Eſcovedo* had

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had been kill'd by the King's Order, did roar moſt outragiouſly upon *Antonio Perez* having been racked upon that Account; and which having happen'd in the Time of Lent, when Peoples Tempers are much chagrined by their Mortifications, the Pulpits of *Madrid* did all ring of it; that in the King's own Chappel not excepted. In which on the Fourth Day after, Father *Salinas*, a famous Franciſcan Preacher, addreſs'd himſelf pathetically to the Courtiers in the Words following, 'Mortals! what is it that you are all 'Mad and gaping after with open Mouths? 'what, don't you ſee the Danger you live 'in? don't you ſee it? do not you ſee thoſe 'who were the other Day on the Pinnacle of 'Favour, to Day on the Rack, and perſe-'cuted cruelly for many Years; and no 'Body knows why nor wherefore? Gentle-'men, I ſpeak to you very freely, that I may both comply with the Obligations of my 'Office, and may reap a particular Advan-'tage to my ſelf by it, and which will be a 'very great one; It is that I ſhall be turn'd 'from Court, as ſome have been before me, 'for ſpeaking Truth; which, ſince the Court takes no Pleaſure to hear, I do aſſure you 'I take no Pleaſure in being about the 'Court.

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But *Antonio Perez* after he had made a Confeſſion, finding his Judges ſo extreamly partial, as to make it a new Article againſt him, that all his Papers had not been deliver'd to the King's Confeſſor as he had ſaid they were; he having now offered by ſome Papers he had by him ſtill, to prove the Truth of all that he had confeſs'd, if the King ſhould give Occaſion for it; he determin'd, if it were poſſible, to make his Eſcape with thoſe Papers into *Arragon*, where the Conſtitution of the Government was ſuch, that the meaneſt Subject, let his Complaints be what they will, is heard; and if his Complaints be prov'd Juſt, are effectually remedy'd: And accordingly on the Night of the Wedneſday in Paſſion Week, having got out of Gaol, he did with great Difficulty, by reaſon of the Pains which the Rack had left in his Bones, reach *Calatyud* the firſt Town in *Arragon*, ten Hours before the Hue and Cry, which, as ſoon as he was miſſ, had been ſent after him: And having thrown himſelf into the Dominican Monaſtery, he had not been long there, before an officious Gentleman, hoping to make his Court by it, tho' he was no Officer of Juſtice, entered the Monaſtery, and in the King's Name pretended to arreſt him in it, appointing him a certain Cell for his Priſon, untill Orders came from *Madrid* how he was to be diſpoſed of. As

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As soon as he was misty his Lady and his Children, of which some were carried in Arms, were thrown into the common Gaol at *Madrid*, where they were used very cruelly, his Wife being accused of having helped him to make his Escape.

But tho' the Court was much troubled at his being got into *Arragon*, where they knew his Cause would be sifted both narrowly and publickly; the whole Town rejoyced so much at it, that the King's Fool having observ'd it asked the King, *Who this* Antonio Perez *was, that every Body rejoyced at his having made his Escape? he must certainly,* (said the Fool,) *be innocent; and are not you glad of it too?*

The first thing *Antonio Perez* did, after he came to *Calatyad*, was, to write a Letter to the King, and another to the Confessor, to acquaint them with the Reasons of his having retir'd into that Kingdom; and to engage them, if it were possible, not to suffer the Business of *Escovedo*'s Death to be pushed on any farther against him.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the King.

SIR,

PErceiving how long my Imprisonment, after so many Years Persecu-

tion, was likely to continue, by the Rigour of ſome Miniſters; or, if I may ſay it, without valuing my ſelf as if I could merit ſo much as I have ſuffer'd, their Envy; and that my Cauſe and Miſerys were not like to end, but with my Life; and being by the managery of ſome Miniſters reduced to ſuch a State, as not to be ſuffer'd to anſwer for my ſelf, nor to vindicate my own Honour, or that of my Anceſtors and Children; and which, to endeavour, is both a Natural and a Chriſtian Obligation; I reſolv'd to do what I have done, and to retire to this your Majeſty's Kingdom, of which my Father and Anceſtors were Natives; and in which your Majeſty is, and will be Maſter of me, as much as if I were in Chains or under the ſtrongeſt Fetters; being reſolv'd to be as Obedient to your Majeſty, as the Clay is to the Potter: And of which I have already given good Teſtimony by my long Suffering, upon the Confidence I always had in your Majeſty, and in your great Piety and Clemency; and in that Depoſitum which I have in your Majeſty's Royal Breaſt of my Innocency: And in this State I have been content to leave all my ſmall Services and Fidelitys, which in another might perhaps have had Merits different from what they

have

'have had with me; I do therefore moſt 'humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty, ſince you 'have ſuch ſtrong Proofs of the Truth of 'this, to believe the Reſignation which I 'do here make to your Majeſty of my Per-'ſon and Mind; and the Tender I do make 'to your Majeſty of my Obedience to your 'Royal Will in all Things, to be ſincere; 'notwithſtanding the Paſſion of one or more 'Miniſters, who have plotted together to 'deſtroy me: And that you will not ſuffer 'their Malice to proceed to the Offence of 'your own great Chriſtianity and Service, 'and to the Terrour of your Subjects.

'I do alſo humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty, 'out of your great Piety, to command my 'Wife and Children, who are deſcended from 'a Father and from a Grandfather that have 'been ſo faithful and ſo much approv'd of, 'to be releaſed out of Priſon; and that you 'would be pleaſed to permit us to live to-'gether in any Corner which you ſhall ap-'point. In which, not being thought 'worthy of doing your Majeſty any other 'Service, we may pray to God to grant you 'a long Life, and whatſoever elſe Chriſten-'dom ſtands in need of. From St. *Peter* Martyr of *Calatyud*, the 14th of *April*, 1590.

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Antonio Perez's Letter to the Confessor.

BY the Letter I have written to his Majesty, your Paternity may see what I can say here; and the many Causes which mov'd me to do what I have done; but which may be easier read in the Truths that are deposited in your own Christian Heart, of which I do not pretend to make any Use, nor of any thing else besides your Paternity's Conscience and Assistance. I do therefore supplicate your Paternity to cause a Stop to be put to these Rigours; and, which being done, I shall make no farther Defence, nor desire any thing more, but to be permitted to live with my Wife and Children in a Corner, with some Mark of his Majesty's Favour, if it were no more than a Certificate of my having serv'd his Majesty faithfully; which is desir'd by me for the Sake of my own Honour and that of my Ancestors and Posterity. For, as to my great and long Sufferings, I shall find a Satisfaction in them all the Days of my Life, for having undergone them all for my Fidelity to my King and Lord, and for his Service.

Antonio

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Antonio Perez's Letter to the Cardinal of *Toledo.*

'IN this your moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip has a Copy of the Letter I have written to the King from this Place, by which you may ſee what I can ſay here of the Cauſes which mov'd me to do what I have done: And ſince what I have ſuffer'd cannot but touch ſo Chriſtian and Honeſt an Heart as yours is, I do ſupplicate your Illuſtrious Lordſhip to turn to me, and to my Wife and Children; and in the Poſt and Authority that you are in, to protect us: That the Paſſion of ſome Miniſters, and that Envy, which might well be tired now it has nothing to feed on but Bones, may not be ſuffer'd to proceed any farther; to the Offence of his Majeſty's Chriſtianity and of his Royal Service, and to the Terrour of all Loyal Subjects; ſeeing, if I may but be permitted to live in a Corner with my Wife and Children, I ſhall be contented; offering all that I have ſuffered to God, and praiſing him for it, and praying to God for his Majeſty. May our Lord, &c.

But before theſe Letters were got to *Madrid*, an Order was come from thence to car-

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ry *Antonio Perez* a Priſoner to *Saragoſa*, for having affirm'd that he had caus'd *Eſcovedo* to be kill'd by the King's Command, whereas the King had never commanded him to do any ſuch thing; and for having broken Gaol; and for diſcovering the King's Secrets, and added to and taken from the Letters whith had been written in Cyphers; which were the Two Articles he had made no open Defence to, when he was charged with them by the Viſita. But when it came to be known at *Calatyud* that there was ſuch an Order come from Court, not only the Friars in whoſe Monaſtery the Priſoner was, but the whole Town, being perſwaded of his Innocency, did reſolve to hinder its Execution; and, on the Day when he was brought out of the Convent, he had been reſcu'd by the Prieſts and Students, had he not ſpoke to them not to offer any Violence to his Guards, ſince they were carrying him to *Saragoſa*, where he would be ſure to have a fair publick Tryal, which was all he deſir'd: And ſo, having thanked them for their good Will, they ſuffer'd him to be carried off, wiſhing him a good Deliverance with loud Acclamations; and from *Meula*, in the Way to *Saragoſa*, he wrote a Second Letter to the King.

Antonio

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Antonio Perez's second Letter to the King.

'THe Obligations I am under to your Majesty's Service, and my own natural Fidelity and Love for it, do compel me still to advertize your Majesty of every thing that I do judge to be convenient for it. I have already given you an Account of my being in this Kingdom, and of my having come hither for no other Reason but to be out of the Reach of the Passion of some Ministers that do persecute me; but with that Obedience and intire Resignation of my self to your Majesty's Will, which I have always shew'd. I came hither with a Resolution to have retir'd into a Monastery, and to have remain'd there openly, untill I had given your Majesty an Account of my self and of my Intentions, with the Respect and Obedience which is due to your Majesty, and to your Royal Service; And the Justice of this Kingdom, having been order'd to take me from thence, I did not withdraw my self; and so am at this time going a Prisoner to *Saragosa*, in much more Pain for your Royal Service, than for my self: And the Reason why I was willing to have had the Sanctuary of the Church preserv'd, was not for my own

'own natural Defence, ſo much as to have 'found a Remedy for the Indictment which 'is preferr'd againſt me, and which is the 'Cauſe of my giving your Majeſty this Ad-'vertiſement. It is ſaid in my Indictment, '*That I caus'd* Eſcovedo *to be murther'd, and* '*made uſe of* Garcia de Arze *to kill him, and* '*that I broke Gaol.* Now, by the Language 'and Form of this Indictment, I know cer-'tainly that your Majeſty did neither order 'it, nor was acquainted with it. Your Ma-'jeſty may therefore be pleas'd to conſider, 'whether it will be convenient for your 'Royal Service to have ſuch Matters as 'theſe brought into Judgment; and whe-'ther, to prevent it, by my flying to a 'Church for Sanctuary, would not be a 'good Expedient: And tho' by doing ſo I 'ſhall appear as a Delinquent, I will ſub-'mit to that, as I have done hitherto for 'your Majeſty's Service: And ſhall wait 'your Majeſty's Pleaſure, comforting my 'ſelf with the Thoughts of its being for 'your Service, and with Hopes that your 'Majeſty will conſider me, and protect me 'with your Clemency; and that you will 'be pleas'd to remember my Fidelity and 'Services, as may be expected from your 'Majeſty's Grandeur and Chriſtianity. I 'return to ſupplicate your Majeſty for my

'Wife

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' Wife and Children, that I may be allow'd
' to have their Company. May our Lord,
&c.

The Particular in this Indictment, from which he concluded that the King had not ſeen it, was *Garcia de Arze* being nam'd in it, as the principal Perſon that had been employ'd in the Death of *Eſcovedo*; whereas he had no Hand at all in that Death, and the King knew very well he had not: *Martinez*, who is ſaid in the Confeſſor's laſt Letter to have been long in Priſon on that Account, was indeed one of that Number; but tho' he had been cruelly uſed, he had never confeſs'd it: So that had not the Rack extorted a Confeſſion from *Antonio Perez* himſelf, it could not have been prov'd againſt him.

Antonio Perez's ſecond Letter to the Confeſſor.

I omit the firſt Part of this Letter, for being Word for Word the ſame with that to the King.

' I Was brought a Priſoner to the Gaol of
' the Manifeſtation, and in which I am
' at this Time: I am charg'd with having
' been the Author of *Eſcovedo*'s Death; and
' with having made uſe of *Garcia de Arze* to
' kill

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'kill him, under a falſe Pretence of his Majeſty's Name; and with having been unfaithful in the Execution of the Office of Secretary; and with having decipher'd Letters falſly. Now, both by the Frame and Language of this Indictment, I know that it cannot have been made by his Majeſty's Direction, nor with your Knowledge; but is, to the great Load of ſome Peoples Conſciences, and to the Injury of many dead and living innocent Perſons, only made uſe of as a Colour for my Impriſonment. The State this Affair is in at this Time, being the 7th of *May*, is, that I have been already examin'd, and have deny'd that I was the Author of *Eſcouedo*'s Death; and that, as to my Fidelity, I could not but lament to ſee it attack'd thus, having never been Guilty of any of the Miſdemeanours I was charg'd withal; but had always ſerv'd my Lord the King with great faithfulneſs; as his Majeſty knows very well, and is able to give good Teſtimonys of it. This is a Matter that your Paternity ought to conſider well, and whether it can be for his Majeſty's Service, and (for other Conſiderations,) convenient to have Affairs of this Nature brought in Judgment.

'Your

'Your Paternity would therefore do well
'to remember the Cauſe that was given for
'my firſt Impriſonment eleven Years ago,
'and the Variety of Troubles and Miſerys
'which I, my Wife, Children, and Eſtate,
'have (and without any form'd Proceſs,)
'been ever ſince ſubject to; as alſo what
'was done to me by the Viſita, and the Or-
'der I had from your Paternity not to defend
'my ſelf by producing Letters under the
'King's own Hand. And to remember
'likewiſe, how my Papers and Diſcharges
'were put into your Hands; and of which,
'in Obedience to your Paternity, and for
'Fear of Diſpleaſing the King, I have made
'no uſe; and how you writ from *Moncon*
'to my Wife, and did promiſe, (to uſe your
'own Words,) that not a Title of them
'ſhould be loſt, nor be ſeen by any Body;
'and how, notwithſtanding that Promiſe,
'thoſe my Defences and Diſcharges, have,
'without my being preſent, been all ſhew'd
'to a Miniſter that is my Enemy. And that
'your Paternity did, at ſeveral times, and
'before divers Perſons, ſay, that whenſo-
'ever there was Occaſion, they ſhould all be
'reſtor'd to me; and that if they did not
'give over perſecuting me, that you would
'run about the Streets, and roar againſt
'their Injuſtice. And your Paternity can-
'not

'not but remember, that the Two last Arti-
'cles of the Visita, were in Substance and in
'Words the very same with those which I
'am now charg'd withall again; for to make
'a Noise and to load me the more. Your
'Paternity must likewise remember, how
'upon my not having, at your Paternity's
'Request, defended my self; and which you
'know I could have done with Ease; I was
'condemn'd with great Rigor: And your
'Paternity may farther remember, that at
'that time, Evidences and good Discharges
'were not wanting as to *Escovedo*'s Death
'and the Causes of it.

'Your Paternity would do well to remem-
'ber likewise what has pass'd since upon
'my Examination, and upon the Indictment
'which was in *September* last preferr'd
'against me by *Rodrigo Vasquez*; and in
'what Form he shew'd the Process to
'my Lawyers; and also the Letters which
'your Paternity writ to me from St. *Law-*
'rence, when Things were in that State;
'and my Answer to you, upon your having
'advis'd me to confess that Death; which
'you said would put an End to all my
'Troubles, which had no other Foundati-
'on: And how, when I propos'd a Me-
'thod, which I thought would be most con-
'venient for his Majesty's Service, you

'were

‘ were ſatisfy'd with it, and did approve of
‘ it; and how, upon that, a Bargain was
‘ made which coſt me dear: And how, in
‘ your ſecond Letter, after you had advis'd
‘ me to confeſs that Death, you order'd me
‘ not by any Means to publiſh the Cauſe of
‘ it: And how, upon that, *Rodrigo Vaſquez*
‘ did by his Managery bring things about
‘ ſo, that I was to be examin'd concerning
‘ the Cauſes of that Death, becauſe it was
‘ convenient for his Majeſty's Service that
‘ they ſhould be known; which was a de-
‘ ſperate Council, being much to the Offence
‘ of the Royal Authority, and to the Ter-
‘ rour of all Loyal Subjects: And how, up-
‘ on the Day I was rack'd, I did ſend your
‘ Paternity a Copy of that your ſecond Let-
‘ ter, by *Gil de Meſa*, to let you ſee how un-
‘ reaſonably I was preſt as to that Matter,
‘ notwithſtanding your Paternity, who is
‘ the King's Confeſſor, did order the con-
‘ trary; and that you might conſider, whe-
‘ ther, after that, I ought to have declar'd
‘ thoſe Cauſes upon an Order having been
‘ ſhew'd to me under the King's own Hand
‘ to do it; conſidering, that the ſtrict Or-
‘ der, which I had in your ſecond Letter to
‘ the contrary, had not been revok'd; and
‘ which not having been done, whether I
‘ was not in Conſcience, and in Fidelity,

‘ and

'and in Reason, bound not to divulge those 'Secrets, and thereby to give Proof of a 'Loyal Subject and Servant. *For*, saith 'St. *Raphael*, *It is a good Thing to conceal the* 'Secret *of a King.* All this your Paternity 'ought, with your great Prudence and 'Christianity to consider; and whether 'it can be convenient to have such Matters 'brought upon the publick Stage: As also 'all the Obligations you are under, and by 'so many Ways, both in Conscience, and 'for the sake of the Post you are in, to take 'care of my Defence; and, being now un-'der so strict an Examination, to let me 'have Directions how to answer, as shall 'be most convenient for his Majesty's Ser-'vice; which, by the Love and Fidelity 'that I have for his Majesty, is rooted in me 'so deeply, that I am prepar'd to take any 'Course whereby that will be most advan-'ced: And whether it would not be a good 'Expedient, (not to force me, having such 'strong Evidences, to defend my self,) to 'have my Cause clos'd, and my Person ac-'quitted, upon the things I had been charg-'ed with not being prov'd: By which 'Sentence my Honour having receiv'd Sa-'tisfaction, tho' I might expect something 'more, I shall postpone all things else to his 'Majesty's Service, with the Comfort of

'my

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'my having left my further Satisfaction in
'his Majesty's Royal Hand and Christiani-
'ty: But if this Course should not be ap-
'prov'd of, whether it would not be conve-
'nient that I should be permitted to take
'Sanctuary in a Church. And tho' I am sen-
'sible, that, for so doing, I shall be looked
'on as a Delinquent; yet, for the same
'Reason that I have born that Imputation
'so long, I will be content to submit to it
'for the Future.

'Your Paternity must not delay your
'Answer to this: For since in these Tribu-
'nals, as I am told, all Processes must be
'made Publick, if a remedy is not apply'd
'presently, it will come too late; and your
'Paternity may be sensible, that my not ha-
'ving been believ'd hitherto, has been a
'great Disservice to his Majesty: God for-
'give him who is to blame for so great a
'Scandal and Inconveniency not having
'been remov'd; for, if upon the Agree-
'ments being made, the ordinary way in
'such Causes had been taken, all that I
'have here spoken of needed not to have
'been reviv'd. And I do further suppli-
'cate your Paternity, not to give way to a
'certain Minister being concern'd in any
'Judgment relating to my unhappy Pledges,
'my Wife and innocent Children; not in

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'any thing that belongs to me, ſince you 'know him to be my Enemy. And I do 'alſo ſupplicate your Paternity, now that 'I am ready to pay ſuch an intire Obedience 'to his Majeſty's Will, and with ſo plain an 'Intention, (that ſo I may get out of the 'reach of the Paſſion of that Miniſter, and 'to find ſome Reſt after ſo many Storms and 'Tempeſts,) that you will not ſuffer ſuch 'Rigors to proceed any farther; but that 'you will do me ſo Chriſtian and Pious an 'Office, as to obtain Leave for me to live 'with my Wife and Children any where 'in a Corner, untill his Majeſty may think 'me worthy of being employ'd again; 'whoſe Service I do preferr to all things of 'this World. Now this being the Truth, 'whatſoever is contrary to it are the Devi-'ces of Malice or Envy; and by which In-'conveniencys have been heaped upon In-'conveniencys, to the Offence of God, and 'of his Majeſty's Service, and to the Scan-'dal of all Nations.

'From *Saragoza*, the 8th of *May*, 1590.

But the Priſoner finding no Anſwer was to be drawn from the King, or from his Confeſſor, by any thing that he could write to them; he determin'd to ſend a Perſon of Authority to Court, to lay the whole Mat-

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ter before the King in its true Colours; and to hear what he would ſay to it: And having pitch'd on the Prior of *Gotor*, who was a Man of great Learning and Dexterity in Buſineſs, he firſt ſhew'd him, but under the Confidence that is to be repos'd in a Prieſt, all the Papers which he had by him concerning the Buſineſs of *Eſcovedo*'s Death; (and which Papers, when he was firſt Arreſted, had been lodg'd by a Servant, in a Place, which neither his Wife, nor any Body elſe beſides himſelf, knew any thing of;) and concerning all the other Matters he was charged withal. And having ſatisfy'd the Prior, that he had the King's Order, and under his own Hand, for every thing that he had done, he gave him particular Inſtructions how to manage the whole Buſineſs he did intruſt him with: With which Inſtructions, being very Large, I ſhall not trouble the *Engliſh* Reader; the Subſtance of them being to be met with in the foregoing Part of this Story; for, tho' the Readers of ſome Nations can bear with long Repetitions, *Engliſh* Readers cannot, let their Matter be never ſo conſiderable.

By this Prior the Priſoner ſent a Letter to the King, and another to the Confeſſor, and a Third to the Cardinal of *Toledo*.

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Antonio Perez's Letter to the King.

SIR,

'BY two Letters I have acquainted your Majesty with the Cause of my having left *Castile*, and retir'd into this Kingdom; and have also advertis'd your Majesty's Confessor of several Matters, with which I doubt not, but, according to his Office, he has acquainted your Majesty; and particularly, with the Tryal being driven on so fast, that in a short time I shall be under a necessity of producing all my Discharges: My own Honour, and that of my Ancestors and Posterity being embark'd in this Cause. But being still willing to give your Majesty some convenient Advertisements, to prevent, if it were possible, my being brought to that; and which being of such a Nature, that I did not care to trust them in Writing; I have order'd them, for your Majesty's better Information, to be deliver'd to your Majesty by Word of Mouth. And having to that end desir'd the Conde of *Morata*, not only on the Account of his Quality, and the high Esteem he is in in this Kingdom, but also on Account of that great Friendship which has

'continued

'continued ſo long betwixt his Anceſtors
'and mine, to help me to a Perſon of
'known Conſcience and Prudence for to
'employ in this Affair; he recommended
'to me the Father Prior of *Gotor*, and who
'under the Secreſy of a Prieſt goes particu-
'larly inſtructed, having with his own
'Eyes ſeen many of the Pledges which I
'have for my Diſcharge, and which were
'found among the Papers and other Things
'that were by chance conveigh'd out of
'my Houſe by my Servants, and lodg'd in a
'ſafe Place when my Goods were ſeiz'd on
'by an Order of Juſtice; and how full
'thoſe Papers are of great Confidences, and
'Secrets relating not only to this Affair, but
'to ſeveral others of Importance; and to ſe-
'veral of your Majeſty's moſt eminent Sub-
'jects. I do therefore ſupplicate your Ma-
'jeſty, to be pleas'd to hear him, as to all
'thoſe Matters which are of ſo great Im-
'portance to your Majeſty's Service; and the
'Affairs, which have in great Confidence,
'paſs'd thro' my Hands: Whereby your
'Majeſty will be ſatisfy'd, that my having
'ſo often, and for ſo long a time adviſ'd,
'that another Courſe ſhould have been
'taken in this Caſe, proceeded not from
'want of Evidence of my Innocency; for,
'if I had no other, I have your Majeſty for

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'a Judge and Witneſs of that; but from my 'unwillingneſs to have the Secrets and My-'ſterys, which are involv'd in this Caſe, 'made Publick. And tho' they who advis'd 'your Majeſty, to have all that paſs'd con-'cerning *Eſcovedo*'s Death declar'd, and 'which your Majeſty's Confeſſor did by 'two Letters urge me to confeſs, might do 'it with a good Intention, or on ſome pri-'vate Account; I know not, whether he 'that advis'd the having the Cauſes which 'mov'd your Majeſty to order that Death 'declared, and averred in Judgment, had 'the ſame good Intention: However, this 'I am ſure of, that when I propos'd the put-'ting of a Stop to the Proſecution by com-'ing to an Agreement with *Eſcovedo*, that 'your Majeſty's Confeſſor did approve of 'it, as the beſt Expedient; and I cannot 'but think that ſo ſudden a change of ſo 'great a Reſolution, muſt have flow'd from 'a particular Paſſion in him who advis'd 'the having the Cauſes of that Death de-'clared in Judgment; hoping, by that 'Means, it is like, to give new Delays to 'my Juſtice, and to the putting of an End 'to my Troubles. And, that having got 'all my Papers from me, and fiſhed out of 'my Wife the Confidence which had paſs'd 'betwixt your Majeſty and my ſelf, he did

'hope

'hope my Juſtice would be choak'd for
'want of *Diſcargos*; a certain Miniſter ha-
'ving both ſaid and writ to your Majeſty,
'that my Buſineſs ſhould be done for me
'by Managery. I do therefore a ſecond
'time ſupplicate your Majeſty, by that Love
'and Fidelity wherewith I have always
'ſerv'd you, to order all theſe things to be
'conſider'd by People that are impartial;
'and to conſider whether it can be con-
'venient to have ſuch Papers of your Ma-
'jeſty's, and ſuch Letters of your Confeſ-
'ſor's, and that Variety of Judgments and
'Ways which has been uſed in this Cauſe,
'and about my Perſon, brought into Judg-
'ment; that ſo a Remedy may no longer
'be delay'd, the Day of my Tryal being ſo
'near at Hand; and at which, ſince the
'Honour of ſo many innocent Perſons will
'be concern'd, I cannot without violating
'the Laws both of God and Nature, for-
'bear to make my Defence. I do there-
'fore again ſupplicate your Majeſty, by
'whom you are, and by what concerns
'your Royal Authority, to be pleas'd, with
'your great Prudence, to take Care not to
'be impos'd on by evil Council, under a
'Pretence of my Perſon; ſuch chargeable
'Methods, and of ſo great Scandal and Diſ-
'honour, not being neceſſary to the effect-

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ing of a thing that is so safe and certain; your Majesty's Will and Commands, being, as I have often said, the strongest Chains and Fetters that I can wear: And that, whilst you shall not think fit to employ me in your Service, you would be pleas'd to allow me to live in any Corner in this your Kingdom, which your Majesty shall appoint; and that my Wife and Children may be permitted to live with me, that we may rest together a little after so much tossing, and so many Storms; and therein your Majesty will do a Piety worthy of your great Christianity; and which will be acceptable in the Eyes of God and the World. May God preserve your Majesty's Royal Person, and give your Majesty as long a Life as it is necessary for Christendom you should have.

From *Saragoza* the 10th of *June*, 1590.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Confessor.

HAving had no Answer from your Paternity to the two Letters I have writ to you, now that the Day of my Tryal draws near; I did resolve to perform this last Office with his Majesty and your Paternity; that no Proof may be wanting of my Fidelity. And that your Paternity may

'may be ſure to know what I have writ to his Majeſty, I do here ſend you a Copy of it; by which, and by what the Father Prior *de Gotor* will lay before you, your Paternity will ſee many Truths which have not hitherto been believ'd: Which, as I ſhall not repeat here, ſo neither will I tyre your Paternity by ſupplicating you to conſider them well, ſince the thing it ſelf will let you know how convenient it is for God's Service, and for his Majeſty's, and for your Paternity's own particular Authority, that they ſhould be well conſidered by you. Your moſt Reverend Perſon's &c.

From *Saragoza* the 10th of *June*, 1590.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Cardinal of *Toledo*.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

'MY Fidelity and Affection for his Majeſty's Service is ſo great, that there is no Proof of it, let it be never ſo Difficult, which I am not willing to give. But tho' I have, ſince I came into this Kingdom, writ twice to his Majeſty, and to his Confeſſor, to advertize them of what I judg'd to be moſt convenient; yet, ſince they ſeem not to take any Care about a

'Matter

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'Matter of ſo high Importance; and it will 'not be long before my Cauſe will be finally determin'd, when I ſhall be bound 'both by the Laws of God and Man to 'defend my ſelf, in a Cauſe wherein my 'own Honour, and that of my Anceſtors 'and Poſterity is ſo deeply engag'd; I was 'willing therefore to perform this laſt Office with his Majeſty and his Confeſſor, of 'ſending the Father Prior of *Gotor* to them, 'as your moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip will underſtand by him, and by the inclos'd Copy 'of the Letter which I have writ to the 'King. I do therefore ſupplicate your 'moſt illuſtrious Lordſhip to hear him 'with that Favour, and good Will, which 'you have always ſhew'd towards me, and 'all my Concerns; and tho' that alone 'would be Reaſon enough for my troubling 'you with this Account, yet the high Poſt 'your moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip is in, gives 'me a ſtronger Reaſon for the doing of it; 'conſidering the great Importance of the 'Matter, and how deeply God's Service, 'and that of his Majeſty, and the Authority of many eminent Subjects, are involv'd 'in it. May our Lord, *&c.*

From *Saragoza*, the 10th of *June*, 1590.

Beſides

Beſides theſe three Letters, the Prior carried one to the Father Prior of our Lady of *Atocha*; and to whom, being *Antonio Perez*'s great Friend, and a Perſon of eminent Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs, the Prior was to apply himſelf, and to be govern'd by him in his whole Conduct: And he was ſtrictly charg'd not to be put off by the Confeſſor, who was a Man of Trick, from inſiſting on having an Audience of the King in Perſon, to ſpread the whole Matter before him, and to hear what he would ſay to it.

The Prior being come to Court thus inſtructed, did, in three long Audiences which he had of the King, firſt by Word of Mouth inform him of the whole Buſineſs; and did afterwards ſhew him the Copys of all the Diſcharges which *Antonio Perez* had ready to produce; and did, on the Word of a Prieſt affirm that he had ſeen the Originals of them all, written with his Majeſty's own Hand: All which Originals, he ſaid, the Priſoner would be oblig'd to produce, and which would all be read in open Court, in the *Manifeſtation*, before Multitudes of People, if he were brought to a Tryal; unleſs it were in order to be acquitted, without making any Defence, upon ſufficient Proof not having been brought in againſt him:

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him: All which, tho' the King did hear with great Attention, and did peruſe all the Papers very diligently; and did alſo much commend the Prior for his prudent Conduct; which was more than the Confeſſor did, by whom the Prior was at firſt receiv'd very coldly, and was afterwards roughly treated and diſmiſſed by him; yet all that the King had heard and ſeen was ſo far from being of any Advantage to the Priſoner, that, on the contrary, the King apprehending from what he had ſeen, that the Priſoner, if he were try'd in the *Manifeſtation*, would be acquitted; he writ to *Micer Baptiſta*, one of the Judges in that Court, to know how he thought it would go with him; and having had Word ſent him by that Judge, who had ſeen the Priſoner's Diſcharges before the King's Letter came to his Hand, that if he were try'd in their Court, he would certainly be abſolved: The King, upon that Information, determin'd not to have him try'd in it; but to let fall, or, as the *Arragoneſe* Phraſe is, to ſeparate himſelf from his Cauſe in that Court; and to carry it into the *Enqueſta*, where he had more Power, and where Matters are tranſacted with great Secrecy.

And accordingly, a few Days before the Priſoner's Tryal was to have come on, the Attorney-

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Attorney-General did, in the King's Name, in Form of Law, declare, *That his Majeſty did deſiſt from his Proſecution of* Antonio Perez; *and did let his Cauſe, which was depending in that Court againſt him, fall: But ſo as to reſerve to himſelf a Right of reviving it when he pleas'd, in any other Court:* Declaring at the ſame Time, *That no Prince had ever been ſo much offended, and diſſerv'd by a Subject, as he had been by* Antonio Perez; *and as to the Diſcharges which* Antonio Perez *pretended to have, that he could invalidate them all with Eaſe, were he not reſtrain'd from doing it, by his Regard for ſome Perſons of eminent Quality that were concern'd in them.*

But the King and his Cauſe were not long ſeparated, for on the Fifth Day after the Separation, they were together again in the Court of *Enqueſta*, with an Addition of Two new Articles; and which had been added to the former Indictment, for no other Reaſon, but that it ſhould not appear to be exactly the ſame with that the King had let fall in the *Manifeſtation*.

And that the Reader may the better underſtand what it was that induc'd the King to remove this Cauſe, from the *Manifeſtation* to the *Enqueſta*, it may not be improper here to give ſome Account, of the different Conſtitutions of thoſe Two Courts.

The

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The Court of *Manifeſtation*, is the ſupream, and the oldeſt ſtanding Court in *Arragon*; having been erected in the Beginning of that Government, for to guard thoſe Rights and Libertys which the *Arragoneſes* had reſerv'd to themſelves, when they did at firſt put themſelvés under a Monarchy. Its chief Judge is the *Juſtiça* of *Arragon*, who is the ſtanding Guardian of the Peoples Rights and Libertys, and to whom Seventeen are joyn'd, who are call'd the *Lugartenants* or *Vice-Guards*, and from whoſe Sentence there lies no Appeal to any other Court, except the *Cortez* or Parliament. Neither can a Subject that is in the Priſon of the *Manifeſtation*, tho' he has thrown himſelf into it, as they often do when they are aggrieved by the Crown, be taken from thence by the King or by any other Court; untill the Cauſe for which he was a Priſoner in it, is ended.

The Court of *Enqueſta*, only that it is a ſtanding Court, is the ſame with the *Viſita* in *Caſtile*; and has no Juriſdiction over any Perſon but the King's own immediate Miniſters and Servants; it was erected long after the *Manifeſtation*, upon the King's having complain'd in a *Cortez*, of his Authority being ſo limited by the Conſtitution of the Government, that he had not Power to puniſh

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puniſh any of his own immediate Servants, tho' they offended him never ſo much: And it is ſaid, that the *Cortez* was willing to grant the King an abſolute Power over his immediate Miniſters and Servants, on purpoſe to prevent the Grandees growing fond of Court-Offices; ſince they could not enjoy them, without being in a worſe Condition, as to the Security of their Lives, Libertys, and Eſtates, than the meaneſt private Subject in the Kingdom.

And as the King's Power in the Court of *Enqueſta* is Abſolute, ſo its Method of proceeding is ſummary and ſecret; and for that Reaſon the People are ſeldom ever ſatisfy'd with the Juſtice of any of its Sentences, when they come to be executed: And they had very lately been much ſcandaliz'd at this Court's having hang'd *Micer Garcez*, who was an Advocate and a Privy Councellor, in his Gown before his own Door, in half an Hour after he had been called by the Viceroy to the Privy-Council, as he uſed to be.

The People were therefore extreamly inrag'd when they heard of *Antonio Perez*'s Cauſe, which they expected to have ſeen ended in a few Days by the *Manifeſtation*, being thus remov'd by the King into the cloſe and arbitrary Court of the *Enqueſta*.

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And if before, they did not much doubt of *Escoveda*'s having been kill'd by the King's Command; upon the King's having made this Step, they concluded it was certainly so; and that the King, knowing the Prisoner would have been able to have proved it in the *Manifestation*, had, for that, and for no other Reason, dropt his Cause in that Court; and reviv'd it again in the *Enquesta*: where his Power was Absolute, and the Method of proceeding was Secret: It having never been known before that a Prisoner had been remov'd from the *Manifestation* to the *Enquesta*, or to any other Court, tho' the Inquisition had several Times attempted to have done it.

The *Enquesta* having however resolv'd to try the Prisoner, an Indictment was prefer'd in it against him; and to which, that it might not appear to be the same that was in the *Manifestation*, they added Two new odd Articles.

The one was, That the Prisoner was observ'd to rejoyce when any bad News for *Spain* came from *France*, and to be sorry when the News was otherwise: And the other was, That he design'd to make his Escape into *Holland*, *Zealand*, or *England*.

The Prisoner having been brought before the *Enquesta*, told them, that he should make

make no Anſwer, nor offer any Diſcharges, as to any of the Miſdemeanours he had been charged with in the *Manifeſtation*; having done that already in the ſupream Court, which only could judge of them: And as to the two new Articles, he ſaid he believ'd it was the firſt Time that any Civil Court had ever brought People's inward Thoughts and Intentions, which are known to God only, into Judgment againſt them. He conjur'd them therefore to conſider how great a Wound they had given to the King's Honour, by having brought his Cauſe into their Court, out of that of the *Manifeſtation*; and ſince they did not pretend to have any Juriſdiction over him, but as he had been the King's Secretary and Servant, (ſince he had already been judg'd and condemn'd by the *Viſita* in *Caſtile*, as to all the Miſdemeanours they now charg'd him with in that Capacity,) to conſider whether the Laws of any Nation did allow the ſame Cauſe to be brought twice into Judgment: In fine, he told them, that if, in Contradiction to the known Laws of the Land, they ſhould force him to make a new Defence, that he would produce Papers which would lay open greater Secrets and Confidences, than any he had yet ſhew'd: And to ſatisfy them that he was able to do it, he offer'd to ſhew

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thoſe Papers in Private to any Perſon that the King ſhould name; and which he ſaid his great Zeal for his Majeſty's Honour made him wiſh might be done.

And upon the *Enqueſta*'s not having taken any Notice of this Propoſition, he did, by a Perſon of Quality, offer to ſhew all thoſe Papers to the Archbiſhop of *Saragoſa*, who was Brother to the Marquis of *Almanera*, his fierceſt Perſecutor; if he would promiſe, after he had ſeen them, with the Confidence that may be repos'd in a Prieſt, to communicate his Thoughts of them to the King: But that Archbiſhop knowing that the King would not thank him for it, deſir'd to be excus'd, for not medling in a Buſineſs which had made ſo great a Noiſe in the World.

But though the Priſoner's Pleas were all over-rul'd by the *Enqueſta*, and which was likewiſe ſtrongly inclin'd to have uſed its ſecret and ſummary Methods with him; yet it durſt not do it, for fear of the People; who being poſſeſs'd, that what had been done to the *Manifeſtation* in this Caſe, was the greateſt Blow that had ever been given to their Libertys, they would certainly have torn the *Enqueſta* all to Pieces, had they offer'd the leaſt Violence to the Priſoner, or had they gone on with a Cauſe, which had been

been brought before them after ſo illegal a Manner.

Wherefore, ſince there was no Hopes of having the Priſoner condemn'd in the *Manifeſtation*, and the *Enqueſta* was ſo terrify'd with the Threats of the Populace, that they durſt not meddle with him any more; ſome other Court was to be found, that ſhould undertake to deſtroy the Priſoner, or to keep him ſo confin'd, that it ſhould not be poſſible for him to make his Eſcape, to tell Tales in foreign Countries, which was the thing the Court dreaded.

And to what Court, beſides the holy Inquiſition, could they have Recourſe in this deſperate Caſe? in which, if they once had the Priſoner, they knew they ſhould both have him ſafe, and ſhould hear no more of thoſe Papers and Diſcharges he had ſo lately threatn'd the King withall.

And that the Inquiſition, if it were once brought into *Arragon*, would certainly overturn all the Rights and Privileges of the People, was a thing the *Arragoneſes* were ſo ſenſible of, that, after that Court was ſetled in all the other *Spaniſh* Kingdoms, they would not ſuffer it to be erected in *Arragon*, tho' they were urged to it by *Ferdinana* the Catholick, whom they loved ſo well that they ſcarce knew how to deny him any

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thing; and who, had he not been the unhappy Founder of the new modelled Court of the Inquiſition, would have been *Spain*'s greateſt Benefactor.

For, in the Year 1484, the Four Eſtates of the Realm, for there are ſo many in *Arragon*, having on this Occaſion aſſembled themſelves together, in the Houſe of the Deputation in *Saragoſa*, they diſpatch'd the Prior of the *Auſtin Monks* of that City, and one Doctor *a Luna* to the King, to ſatisfy him, that the Inquiſition could not be introduced into *Arragon* without ſubverting the People's ancient and undoubted Rights and Priviledges; one of which was, that in all Caſes, all Witneſſes were to deliver their Evidences in open Court; and another was, that no Subject could be depriv'd of his Eſtate, nor of any Part of it, but by the Sentence of the *Juſtiza*, or of the *Cortez* of the whole Kingdom; whereas, in the Court of the Inquiſition, neither the Names nor the Teſtimonys of Witneſſes were ever told to the Priſoners, and whoſe Eſtates were confiſcated upon the ſingle Sentence of that Court. But the King, not being ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, did ſend ſome Inquiſitors to a ſmall City in *Arragon* called *Tervil*, where he did hope they might have been permitted to have erected their Tribunal;

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nal; but as ſmall as that City was, the People roſe and drave the Inquiſitors with all their Officers out of their Gates, and the Inquiſitors, upon that Expulſion, having been order'd by the King to repair to an obſcure Village called *Celdas*, they did ſet up their Court there, but without exerciſing any Juriſdiction.

But the Inquiſitors being impatient in this Obſcurity, Three of them adventured to go to *Saragoſa*, and to try if they could diſpoſe the People of that City to allow them a greater Theatre; which at that Time thoſe Inquiſitors were ſo far from being able to effect, that Father *Epila* who was the chief of them, was ſtabb'd in a Church ſaying his Prayers; and who having died two Days after of his Wounds, immediately after his Death, if his Brethren the Inquiſitors may be believ'd, he began to work Miracles in Favour of the Inquiſition.

And as the People do many times loſe their Rights, as well as Kings their Prerogatives, by ſeeking to maintain them by violent and illegal Methods; ſo the murthering of that ſingle Inquiſitor, was the great Means of introducing the Inquiſition into *Saragoſa*, where the People were diſpos'd to receive it by the Miracles which that ſlain Inquiſitor was confidently report-

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ed to have wrought, in Conjunction with our Lady of *Guadalupe*; who, tho' ſhe is called by the *Roman* Church the Mother of Mercy, is ſaid by the Inquiſitors to have wrought Threeſcore Miracles, for no other End, but to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to receive and reverence their mercyleſs Court.

The King alſo to give the Inquiſitors the more Authority, beſtow'd his own Pallace in *Saragoſa* upon them, for their Court, and Priſon; it is called the *Aljaferia*, and was the Pallace of the *Mooriſh* Kings. And tho' the Inquiſition was admitted into *Arragon* with ſeveral Limitations to the Power which it exerciſed in other Places; the Inquiſitors doubted not but that in a ſhort Time they ſhould be able, by confident Reports of Miracles, and ſome other ſuch Methods, to ſhake off thoſe Fetters. But to return.

In order to lodge *Antonio Perez* in the cloſe and ſecure Priſons of the Inquiſition, one of his own Servants and Three or Four of the Priſoners in the *Manifeſtation*, were bribed by the Marquis of *Almanera* to inform the Inquiſitors, that they had heard *Antonio Perez* ſay, *That were he but once at Liberty, he would ſtay no longer in* Spain, *but would go either into* Holland, England, *or* Zealand, *which were all three Heretical Countries.*

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tries. And it having been given out, on purpoſe to make him odious to the People, that he was a moſt ſad Witch, being in a ſolemn Compact with the Devil, in their Information they were order'd to be ſure to charge him home with that Crime; which alone would be ſufficient to juſtify the fetching him out of a Secular Priſon, where the Devil hath ſo much Power, (and by whom the Priſoner had been actually helped out of the Secular Priſon at *Madrid*,) to lodge him in the ſafe Priſon of the Holy-Office; where, if the Devil had any Power, it was ſo ſmall, that it had never been known, that with all his Force he had ever been able to take the Perſon of one ſingle Witch out of thoſe Priſons.

As to his Servant that was corrupted, he indeed had been by when his Maſter was told by ſome of his Friends, that tho' he ſhould be acquitted by the *Manifeſtation*, he could not, now the King was ſo angry with him, think of living within any of the *Spaniſh* Territories; neither could he be ſafe in *France*, where the King had ſo great a Party; nor in *Italy*, where he had ſo much Power: But at the ſame time, that Servant had never heard his Maſter ſay a Word of any ſuch Deſign. And as to the reſt of the Informers, as they were all utter Strangers

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to him, ſo, if he had deſign'd any ſuch thing, it is not probable that he would have told them of it. And as to his Witchcraft, that was a Crime, which is proved in no other Court ſo eaſily as it is in the Inquiſition; where the Rack, upon a Fame, commonly prevails with a Witch to turn his own Accuſer.

However, upon their Informations, the Inquiſitors, tho' they were not Ignorant of the great Ferment the whole City was put into by the *Enqueſta*'s having pretended to meddle with one that was a Priſoner in the *Manifeſtation*; did boldly, on the 24th of *May*, 1590, ſend their Familiars to fetch *Antonio Perez* before them, out of the *Manifeſtation*; and which the Familiars having done, the whole City as ſoon as they heard of it, was all in an Uproar, and ſeveral Thouſands of the Populace being got together in a Body, did run towards the *Aljaferia*, which had been the Pallace of the *Moriſh* Kings, but is now the Inquiſition, ſhouting all the Way they went, *Let Liberty live*, *Let* Antonio Perez *live*; and having, when they came to the Gates of the Inquiſition, threatn'd to ſet fire to them, if *Antonio Perez* were not preſently brought out; the Viceroy, having got ſome of the Nobles that were moſt popular about him, went to them

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them in his Coach, to perſwade them to diſperſe, aſſuring them, *That the Priſoner ſhould have no Wrong done him, having been brought to the Holy Office only to be examin'd concerning ſome things relating to the Faith.*

But when the Viceroy perceiv'd that the People were not to be charm'd by the Words Holy-Office and Faith; and that nothing but the bringing forth the Priſoner would ſatisfy them; and ſeeing Straw and other combuſtible Matter coming from all Parts to have ſet fire to the Inquiſition, he leap'd out of his Coach, and having run into the Thickeſt of the Croud, cry'd out, *Friends, I am not here among you as a Viceroy, but as Biſhop of* Tervel, *and one of your ſelves; and if you will but be Quiet, I will go preſently into the Inquiſition my ſelf, and fetch out the Priſoner to you; neither will I leave him untill I have, according to your Deſire, lodg'd him in ſafety in the* Manifeſtation. And accordingly the Viceroy and the Condes *D' Aranda* and *Morata*, who were both very Popular, having gone into the Inquiſition, they deſir'd the Inquiſitors, for their own and the common Safety, to deliver the Priſoner to them preſently; and which the Inquiſitors having done with trembling Hearts, the Viceroy took him by the Hand, and led him down to his Coach, but the People having

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ving cry'd out that they would have him ride on Horſe-Back, that they might all ſee him, he was mounted preſently, and was huzza'd all the way to the *Manifeſtation*, with *Live Liberty, live* Antonio Perez.

And whereas the Marquis of *Almanera*, who had been ſeen to go and come from the Inquiſition that Morning, was known to be the Priſoner's fierceſt Perſecutor, and who, it was ſaid, had undertaken with a Troop of Horſe to have carried him back to *Caſtile*; the Populace before they diſpers'd, were reſolv'd to have their Revenge on that Lord: and having in a great Rage inveſted his Houſe, they had burnt it down to the Ground, and him in it, had not the *Juſtiza* of *Arragon* come, and prevented it, by arreſting that Marquis; and carrying him a Priſoner to the *Manifeſtation*: But tho' that Marquis and his Houſe were both ſaved from being burnt by this Diligence of the *Juſtiza*, his Life was not ſaved by it: The Populace as ſoon as they ſaw the Marquis, having cry'd out, *Let the Traytor to his Country, and to its Laws and Liberty die*; they did thump and pelt him ſo unmercifully all the Way he went, that he died a few Days after in the Priſon of the *Manifeſtation*, of the Bruiſes and Wounds which they had given him.

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The Governour of *Saragoſa* likewiſe, for having appear'd very zealous againſt the Priſoner, had all the Goods and Furniture of his Houſe broke and torn to Pieces; and that they might not be thought to have been led to his Houſe by their Covetouſneſs, they that were within threw all his Money and Plate out of the Windows into the Street, lamenting that they had not met with the Governour to have made a publick Example of him. And to have ſatisfy'd the Inquiſitors if it had been poſſible, that they were in the Wrong, it was declar'd by thirteen of the moſt eminent Lawyers in the Kingdom, who had been called together to give their Opinion, that by the fundamental Law of *Arragon*, no Priſoner, whilſt he had a Cauſe depending in the *Manifeſtation*, could be taken from thence, by the King, or by any Court.

Antonio Perez, after the Uproar was over, having been told that ſome of the Marquis *de Almanera*'s Servants had been lately ſeveral Times with one *Navarro de Cellas*, and one *John de Luna*, and a certain Leather-Currier; who were all three Priſoners in the *Manifeſtation*; he concluded that they muſt have been the Perſons that had informed againſt him in the Inquiſition; and, being reſolv'd to find it out, he order'd his Procurators to give a Memorial in his behalf, to

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Galician Cerdan, who was *Calmedina*, or Lord Major of the City, ſupplicating him to take an Information *ad futuram rei memoriam*, concerning a Plot and Subornation of Witneſſes againſt him, and that the three forenam'd Perſons might be all examin'd about that Subornation; And who having been all brought under Examination by the Lord Major, *Navarro de las Cellas* depoſed upon Oath, 'That the Gaoler and ſome of 'the Marquis *de Almanera*'s Servants, had, 'by a Bribe, and with Promiſes and Threats, 'ſollicited him to inform againſt *Antonio* 'Perez in the Inquiſition; and that they had 'withall brought a Note to him from one '*Molina* an Inquiſitor, to animate him to 'it: And in that Note an Information to 'which they urged him to ſet his Hand; 'and which was, that he had heard *Antonio* 'Perez ſay, that if he were once at Liberty, 'he would flee into *Holland*, *Zealand*, or '*England*: And that whereas he had been 'perſwaded to ſet his Hand to the ſaid In-'formation, he did now for the Diſcharge of 'his Conſcience, retract and unſay the ſaid 'Information; and did declare upon Oath, 'that he had never heard *Antonio* ſpeak any 'ſuch Words, nor was he ever once in 'his Company, neither did he know any 'thing of his being a Witch.

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And he did farther depoſe upon Oath, 'That before that Subornation, he was 'offer'd by the ſame Perſons, both his Par-'don and his Liberty, upon the Gaol's ha-'ving been broken one Night, if he would 'ſwear that *Antonio Perez* had ſet them to 'break it; and would kill *John Franciſco* '*Majorini.* The firſt he refus'd to do, but 'undertook the ſecond; and when *Majorini* 'was aſſaulted by him, it was with an In-'tention to have killed him.

This *Majorini* was a *Genoueſe*, who had been thrown into Priſon for having helped *Antonio Perez* to make his Eſcape from *Madrid*, and who had come into *Arragon* with him.

The other Two Informers did likewiſe declare upon Oath, that they had been ſubborn'd by the ſame Perſons to ſend the ſame Information into the Inquiſition, and that they had neither of them exchang'd one Word with *Antonio Perez.*

But for this Examination, the Lord Major, after the *Caſtilian* Army was in *Saragoſa*, was taken up by the Inquiſition, and condemn'd to be a Priſoner ſix Years in *Oran*, and was with his Poſterity made uncapable of ever bearing any Office.

Cellas and *Luna* were taken up by the Inquiſition at the ſame Time, and having been brought out in an Act of the Faith, they

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they were condemn'd to be whipped through the Streets untill they had receiv'd Two hundred Stripes, and to the Gallies for six Years; so unpardonable a thing it is to irritate that Mercyless and Implacable Court, by Truth, if it Reflects on its Proceedings. But this, tho' it was the most Tragical, was not the first Clash the *Manifestation* had with the Inquisition, which where ever it is, is incroaching daily on the Rights of the People, and on those of the Bishops.

The Conde *d' Aranda*, Father to the fore-mention'd Conde, having had Notice that some Informations had been given into the Inquisition against him; did, to prevent his being taken up by that Court, put himself into the *Manifestation*; and by which, whilst his Cause was depending in it, and which depended as long as he lived, he was protected against the Inquisition, which was very zealous to have had him in its Prison.

And after that, when *Don Bernardo de Castro* was brought out of the Inquisition and delivered to the Secular Arm to be burnt, for being an Heretick; his Relations to save his Life, went and manifested him, as the Phrase is: But it having been judged by the *Manifestation*, that since he had been judged and condemned by the Inquisition, that he could not manifest afterwards,

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wards, he was left to the Secular Arm, as a Priſoner delivered to them by the Inquiſition; and ſo was burnt as an Heretick.

One *Antonio Gomir* having likewiſe to prevent his being taken up by the Inquiſition, thrown himſelf into the Priſon of the *Manifeſtation*; upon the Inquiſition's having demanded him, it was declar'd, that untill his Cauſe was ended in the *Manifeſtation* he could not be moleſted by that or by any other Court; and the Inquiſitors, having upon that declar'd the Judge excommunicated that had deliver'd that Sentence, the Cauſe was carried to *Rome*, where the *Manifeſtation* did ſpend above Five thouſand Ducats in the Aſſertion of this Right; and the Judge that was excommunicated, happening to die before the Controverſy was ended, upon the Inquiſitors not ſuffering him to have Chriſtian Burial, the *Manifeſtation* order'd his Body to be embalm'd, and having at laſt had the Better of the Inquiſition, the Excommunication was taken off, and the Body was buried in great State and Triumph.

But the Inquiſition, to their great Mortification, having been thus baffl'd by the *Manifeſtation* at *Rome*, waited for an Opportunity to revive this Diſpute again: And reckoning that this Caſe of *Antonio Perez* did afford them as good a one as they could have

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have wished for, the King being so zealous to have him taken out of the *Manifestation*, that they were sure of the Royal Assistance, they resolv'd to venture the imbroiling of the whole Kingdom, as they did with a Witness before they had done with this Business, rather than lose so favourable an Opportunity. Neither was the Inquisition at this Time angry only with the *Manifestation*, but with the *Cortez* of the whole Kingdom likewise, for having in the Year 1585 remonstrated to the King against the Incroachments made by the Inquisition on the Rights of the Subject: Which Storm was diverted by the King, who was by Inclination, as well as Interest a great Friend to that Court; by proposing as an Expedient that both Partys should name a certain Number of Deputys, who should meet together and settle the Bounds of their several Jurisdictions: And in Case those Deputies did not come to an Agreement in six Months, after that it should be lawful for the Kingdom to have Recourse to the Pope for Relief.

But after six Months were expired without any thing having been done, the Envoys were nam'd by the Deputies of the Kingdom to go to *Rome*, but never went; for as there was no *Cortez* then sitting, so the Court having underhand discouraged it, all

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all they could, that Embaſſy was laid aſide, and never reſumed again.

The Kingdom and the Inquiſition being at this Time on theſe Terms; the latter, now that *Antonio Perez*'s Affair had united the King to them cloſer than he ever was before, reſolv'd with the Royal Aſſiſtance, to have *Antonio Perez* brought back to their Priſons again, and to make that a ſtanding Preſident againſt the *Manifeſtation*: And in Order to the effecting of that Deſign, they got it under the Hands of Thirteen obſcure mercenary Lawyers, that their Court had Power to take any Priſoner out of the *Manifeſtation* that was accuſed of Hereſie; and having had Two thouſand diſciplined Soldiers quartered in *Saragoſa*, they publiſhed an Edict of Excommunication againſt all that had been any wiſe concern'd in the Inſult which was made on the Holy-Office, on the 24th of *May*. But the ſame Day that this Edict of Excommunication was publiſhed, a Declaration was ſet forth by the Deputies of the Kingdom, commanding the Subjects not to regard that Excommunication, which for being contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the Papal Cenſures by which thoſe Laws were guarded, was of no Force; one of which Papal Cenſures, was an Excommunication denounced againſt all that ſhould violate or

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conſent to the violating of any of the eſtabliſhed Rights of the People of *Arragon*.

But the Inquiſitors, tho' they ſaw the People were not at all intimidated by their Excommunication, having got all on their Side who were any wiſe under the Influences of the Court, determined to purſue their Point; and the 20th Day of *Auguſt* was fix'd by them for the Execution of their Deſign: But when that Day was come, it was for ſome ſecret Reaſon adjourn'd to the 24th of *September*; by which Time things were ſo diſpoſed by the Court, and by the Inquiſitors, that they did not expect to have met with Oppoſition; moſt of the Magiſtrates, ſince their laſt Declaration, having been ſo managed by the Court, as to agree to *Antonio Perez*'s being ſent back to the Priſons of the Inquiſition again, to pleaſe the King. But when the People, to alienate them from *Antonio Perez*, were told that it was by Witchcraft that *Antonio Perez* had drawn them to take his Part ſo violently; they anſwered, that what they had done was not for *Antonio Perez*'s Sake, tho' they believed he was much wronged; but to preſerve the Authority of the Court of the *Manifeſtation*, which was the Bulwark of all their Rights and Libertys; and that they had not therefore when they fetch'd him from the Inquiſition, ſet him at Liberty, but had carried

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carried him back to the *Manifeſtation*, to have his Tryal there according to the Laws of the Land. To be the more ſecure, the Governour, the Night before, placed Guards in every Street, and planted himſelf with 800 Foot and a Troop of Horſe, in the Market Place, which is cloſe to the *Manifeſtation*; and to ſtrike a Terrour into the People, the Soldiers did nothing all Night but fire their Muskets.

In the Morning, tho' it was one of the moſt tempeſtuous that had been in the Memory of Man, the Viceroy, a Lugartenente, and a Deputy, all in their Formalitys, did attend the Familiars, the Secretary, and the Gaoler of the Inquiſition to the Market-Place; and who were likewiſe attended by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* and ſeveral Condes and other Nobles: And the Lugartenente and the Deputy, having with a ſtrong Guard gone with the Officers of the Inquiſition into the Hall of the *Manifeſtation*, the Lugartenente commanded the Gaoler to bring *Antonio Perez* and *Don Franciſco Majorini* to him; which the Gaoler having done, the Lugartenente took *Antonio Perez* by the Hand, and delivered him to the Officers of the Inquiſition, ſaying, *The Lords Inquiſitors have by their Letter demanded this Priſoner, whom, ſuſpending the* Manifeſtation, *I do here deliver up to you.* And having done

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the ſame to *Majorini*, *Antonio Perez* asked him, *What was become of the Rights of the* Manifeſtation? The Lugartenente anſwered, *That has been conſider'd, and all that could be has been offer'd in your Name, and in your Defence:* The Priſoners were both then put in Fetters, but as they were carrying them out of the Hall to have put them into Two Coaches which waited at the Gate for them, the People, who notwithſtanding all the Guards and the bad Weather, were in vaſt Multitudes about the *Manifeſtation*, cry'd out *Liberty*, *Liberty*; and having not only cut the Harneſs of the two Coaches, but kill'd all the Mules that were in them; without having any Head, they fell upon the Guards which attended the Coaches, and kill'd ſome of them, and diſpers'd the reſt. And *Gil de Meſa* having, whilſt they were about that, come up to them with twelve Lackeys and ſome Men arm'd with Muskets, he lead them to the Market Place; where the Soldiers having fir'd, and kill'd and wounded ſeveral of them, they did not give them Time to charge agen, but fell upon them on all Sides with that Fury, that they were glad to throw down their Arms; and having mixed themſelves among the People, did to ſave their Lives, cry out *Liberty*, *Liberty*, louder than any of them; and the Governour, and the Nobles and Officers

that

that were with him, having fled into the Stable of an Inn that was near the Market-Place, the People purſued them, and finding the Door of the Inn ſhut, they commanded thoſe that were within to open it to them preſently; but they inſtead of doing that, having fir'd at them, and ſhot three of them dead upon the Place, they ſet Fire to the Houſe; but the Governour and his Companions having fled out at a back Door, they did either flee to the Houſes of ſome Men whom they knew to be Popular, or did mingle themſelves with the Croud, and cry out *Liberty*, and by that Means moſt of them did ſave their Lives. So that about Noon *Liberty* was cry'd much louder than it was in the Morning; and ſo loud by none, as by thoſe who had then been employ'd to deſtroy it.

From the Inn out of which they had ſmok'd the Governour, the People went to the *Manifeſtation*, and commanded the Gaoler to bring *Antonio Perez* out to them, threatning to kill the Officers of the Inquiſition and their Attendants that were there: The Lugartenente upon that, went with his Hat in his Hand to *Antonio Perez*, and beſeeched him to ſhew himſelf to the People, and to interceed with them for their Lives; and *Antonio Perez* having looked Sullen and made no Anſwer, they did all ſuppli-

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care him for God's Sake to do it; and he having told them that it was Time enough after they had taken off his Fetters, his Fetters were presently knock'd off by the Lugartenente's Order: *Antonio Perez* walked then to the Window, and having looked out, and bow'd low to the People, such a Shout of Joy was rais'd as had never been heard in *Saragosa* before. The People then called to him to come down to them, for they could not be satisfy'd to see him a Prisoner any longer; The Lugartenente and Officers of the Inquisition, dreading that the People would have broke in upon them, desir'd him to make haste and go down to them; which he having refus'd to do, unless they would discharge him by a judicial Act, they all slunk away and hid themselves: However, at last he was prevail'd with to go down, where the Turnkey stood ready and open'd the Door to him: The People, when they had him among them, repeated their former joyful Acclamations; and having carried him upon their shoulders through the Market Place and some of the Streets, to receive the Blessings of the People, and which he met every where, they lodg'd him at last in the House of *Don Diego Eredia*; who by his Popularity had that Day sav'd the Lives of some of the Nobles, who had fled to his House as to a Sanctuary.

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And the People then remembring that *Majorini* was likewiſe to have been carried from the *Manifeſtation* to the Inquiſition, went back to the *Manifeſtation*, and having demanded *Majorini*, he was preſently brought out to them, and ſet at Liberty.

There were near an Hundred Perſons kill'd on both Sides in this Commotion, and a great many more wounded; and among the Slain there was found a Lugartenente, and a Deputy of the Kingdom.

In the Evening *Antonio Perez* took Horſe and with *Gil de Meſa*, and another Friend, and two Footmen, went publickly out of *Saragoſa*; being attended a Quarter of a League by a vaſt Multitude of People; who, having been heartily thanked by him, did all at parting with a loud Shout wiſh him a good Voyage: He rode nine Leagues that Night, and having then diſmiſs'd his Friend and his Servants, he retir'd with *Gill de Meſa* to ſome high Mountains, with an Intention to have abſconded among them untill he ſaw how this Commotion would end: But after he had been there Three Days, and in great Diſtreſs for want of Water, which his Servants had forgot to bring; he had Word brought him that the Governour was abroad with ſome Soldiers, and, as was ſuppos'd, in queſt of him.

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But whilſt he was conſidering how he might eſcape falling into the Governour's Hands, a Letter came to him from his great Friend *Don Martin de la Nuca*, to invite him to return to *Saragoſa*; where he promiſed he ſhould be in ſafety in his Houſe, untill he had try'd whether he could make his Peace firſt with the Inquiſitors, and afterwards with the King; who, he ſuppos'd, would grant him any thing that he would deſire, rather than have him fly into *Bearn*.

And *Antonio Perez* having an entire Confidence in the Friendſhip and Honour of that Gentleman, and apprehending that at preſent he could be no where ſo ſafe as in *Saragoſa*, he did reſolve to go back; and, having ſent *Don Martin* Word that he was coming, he was met by him in the Night without the Gates, and was conducted by him to his Houſe, where he remain'd till within two Days before the *Caſtilian* Army enter'd into *Saragoſa*. But in the mean while *Don Martin* did enter into a Treaty with the Inquiſitors, and who, tho' they appear'd to be well diſpos'd to come to an Accommodation with *Antonio Perez*, yet, after ſome Conferences *Don Martin* did plainly diſcover, that nothing was farther from their Thoughts than any thing of an Accommodation; and that they had treated with him, and had appeared ſo well diſpos'd, for no other End but

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to fiſh out of him where *Antonio Perez* was, and by giving him Hopes that Matters might be yet accommodated, to keep him from flying into *Bearn*: And the thing that made this Managery manifeſt beyond Contradiction, was a Letter of *Moreion*, who was the Inquiſitor that had treated with *Don Martin*, to one of the Miniſters at Court, which was intercepted; wherein that Inquiſitor, after having given Notice of the *Arragoneſes* being ready every where to take up Arms, and nam'd ſome Nobles and others who promoted it, and others who were to have Commands in the Army when it was brought together; he adviſ'd the ſending of a *Caſtilian* Army forthwith into *Arragon*, before the *Arragoneſes* had arm'd themſelves; and who he ſaid were much like the *Portugueſes*, but had leſs Strength, fewer Arms, and leſs Artillery, and ſo might be eaſier ſubdued: And added, that ſince *Antonio Perez*, as he was inform'd by one that was very intimate with him, had ſuch a tender Love for his Wife and Children, that he had often ſaid, *I do very ill, not to deliver my ſelf up to any Court, rather than let ſuch a Wife and ſuch Children as mine are, ſuffer ſo much*; he did therefore adviſe, to have them ſtreightned as much as it was poſſible: And having mention'd the Charge he was at to procure Intelligence, he

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he ſubjoyn'd, *The Archbiſhoprick of* Toledo *would be but a ſmall Reward for the Service he had done the King.*

The People of *Arragon* having had Intelligence that a conſiderable *Caſtilian* Army was drawing together upon their Frontiers, and which was to be commanded by *Don Alonſo de Vargas*; they called upon the Deputies of the Kingdom and the Nobles, to require the *Juſtiza* to put the Kingdom in a Poſture of Defence, and to adviſe with the Learned in the Law what they might and ought to do, in Caſe they were invaded by a Foreign Army coming to deſtroy all their Rights and Libertys: And which the Deputies and Nobles having done, the *Juſtiza* called all the Judges together to have their Opinion in the Caſe; and who having met, did declare, that by the ſecond *Feuro*, or Law *de generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arragonum*, it was lawful for the Subjects, by Force of Arms, to oppoſe any Foreign Army that ſhould come into *Arragon*, tho' the King himſelf, or the Prince his eldeſt Son, were at the Head of it: And that this Law had the Pope's Approbation and Confirmation, and Papal Cenſures annexed to it, to ſecure it from being broken. And it having been thereupon decreed, that in Caſe a *Caſtilian* Army did offer to enter into *Arragon*, that the *Juſtiza* ſhould, with all the Force he could

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could draw together, go out in Perſon againſt it; and that a Meſſenger ſhould be ſent by him to *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, who was an *Arragoneſe*, to forbid him upon Pain of Death to come into his Native Country with any Foreign Army; the *Juſtiza* promiſed to cauſe that Decree to be put in Execution, and did accordingly iſſue forth Commiſſions for the raiſing of an Army; one of which Commiſſions, and which was given by the *Juſtiza* to *Antonio Perez*'s great Friend, who was a near Kinſman of his own, and of his own Name, I ſhall here inſert at Length, ſince it contains the Ground whereon the *Arragoneſes* proceeded in this Inſurrection.

We Don John de Nuca de Perellos, *of his Majeſty's Council, and* Juſtiza *of* Arragon; Don Friar Auſtin Navarro, *Abbot of our Lady* de la Piedra; Don John de Luna *Lord of* Purroy; Hierom de Oro, Luys Navarro, *and* John de Marcuello, *Deputies of the Kingdom of* Arragon; *to you Senor* Martin de la Nuca, *Health and good Will.*

'WHereas there has been an Application made to us with a grievous 'Complaint, ſaying, that *Don Alonſo de Vargas* is entred, or is ready to enter this 'Kingdom

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'Kingdom with an Army of Foreigners, 'and with an Intention to damnify this 'City of *Saragoſa*, and the People of it and 'of this whole Kingdom, contrary to the 'Laws and Libertys of the ſame; and that 'therefore in Obedience to the ſecond Law '*De Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arragonum*, we ought to convocate and aſſemble, ſo many of the People of the ſaid Kingdom, as ſhall be thought Neceſſary for to reſiſt and repell out of the Kingdom the ſaid arm'd Force of *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, and that Army of Foreigners which he brings with him: And we having taken Advice about what the Law requires; after Mature Deliberation and Council on the ſecond Law *De generalibus Privilegiis*, did offer our ſelves ready and prepared to make the ſaid Convocation: And accordingly, upon the Army of *Don Alonſo de Vargas* being ſo great, we have called together a great Number of the People of this Kingdom.

'And whereas there will want Officers 'and Perſons to govern and command the 'ſaid People, and to teach them what 'they are to do; confiding much in the Induſtry and Fidelity of you the ſaid Senor '*Don Martin de la Nuca*; we do by the 'Tenour of theſe Preſents, name and create 'you a *Maeſtre de Campo* of all thoſe Men of

'Arms

'Arms which ſhall come down from the 'City *Hueſca*, and the Mountains of *Jacca*; 'and of their Vaſſals, and of thoſe of the 'ſaid City and of the five Towns; and of '*Barbaſtro*, and *Monzon*, and *Foya de Hueſca*; 'to train them, and to command and ap-'point them what they are to do; giving 'to you, as we do give, the whole Power 'compleatly which the *Maeſtres de Campo* 'have, and are accuſtom'd to have in other 'Kingdoms: And commanding the ſaid 'People, to hold, name, obey, and repute 'you, their *Maeſtre de Campo*. Dated in the City of *Saragoſa*, the 4th of *November*, 1591.

El Albad de Piedra, *Luys Navarro*, *Luys de Marcuello* } *El Juſtiza de Arragon* { *Don Juan de Luna*; *Geronimo de Oro*.

The Seal of the Juſtiza. — The Seal of the Kingdom.

By the Command of the Lords. — By the Command of the ſaid Lords.

The Juſtiza of *Arragon* and of the Deputys. *Juan Mendile*, Notary and Secretary. — The Juſtiza of *Arragon* and of the Deputys. *Diego de Miedes*, Notary and Secretary.

But tho' the Inquiſitors, who will ſacrifice the Rights of their Country and every thing elſe

elſe to the Authority of their Courts, had ſollicited the Miniſtry at *Madrid* to ſend a *Caſtilian* Army forthwith into *Arragon*: There was no Order of Men ſo zealous to have the Kingdom put in a Poſture of Defence againſt that Army, as the Clergy: All the People being called upon both by the Preachers, and by their Confeſſors, to take up Arms to defend their Country and its Laws and Rights, againſt that foreign Army which was coming to deſtroy them all.

And whereas it had been order'd that *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, who was a Native of *Arragon*, ſhould be declar'd a Traytor to his Country if he came with that foreign Army to invade it: A Meſſenger with a publick Notary and two Witneſſes, were ſent by the *Juſtiza* to that General, to acquaint him with that Sentence, and to command him upon Pain of Death not to preſume to invade his native Country: And who being come to the *Caſtilian* Army at *Beruela* on the Frontiers; at firſt that General would not be ſeen by them, but having been told that they ſaid it was all one whether he heard them or not, for if he did not, they would nail the Notification which they had brought upon the Gates; he permitted them to come to him, and to execute their Commiſſion in his Preſence in Form of Law; but on that Occaſion he did make the

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the ſame Declaration, which he had formerly writ to *Saragoſa*, which was, 'That he 'was too much an *Arragoneſe* ever to do 'any thing to the Prejudice of the Rights 'and Libertys of his Country; and that he 'was not to invade *Arragon* with the Army 'which he commanded, but was only to 'march thro' that Kingdom with it, into '*France*, to the Aſſiſtance of the League: 'and in Execution of a Treaty the King 'had enter'd into with it; and to chaſtiſe 'two or three, and no more, to give Satisfaction to the Juſtice of the Government 'which had been offended. This *Don Alonſo* was I believe Son to the famous Doctor *Vargas*, whoſe wiſe and honeſt Letters, ſhewing the perfect Bondage the *Trent* Council was under to the Pope, were lately publiſhed from their Originals both in Engliſh and French.

But a Proclamation having been ſoon after publiſh'd by that General, forbidding his Soldiers upon Pain of Death to riſle any Church or Monaſtery; the *Arragoneſes* did reckon, that by that he did as good as give them Leave to plunder all other Places: But whether that was that General's Intention or not, his Soldiers believing that it was, did plunder and make great Devaſtations in the Country through which they march'd; and by which Violences the People of *Arragon*

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gon having been much incenſed againſt that *Caſtilian* Army; the *Juſtiza* attended by moſt of the Nobles, put himſelf at the Head of the *Arragoneſes* which had been brought together at *Saragoſa*, and having ſet up the Standard of St. *George*, which is the Enſign the Kingdom had always made uſe of on ſuch Occaſions, he marched out of *Saragoſa* with a Reſolution to have faced the *Caſtilian* Army, which was much inferiour to him in Numbers, and to have given it Battel.

But on the ſecond Day after they had taken the Field, the *Arragoneſes* Army having been deſerted by the *Juſtiza* himſelf, and by the Duke *de villa Hermoſa*, and the Conde *Aranda*, and *Don John de Luna*, and *Don Diego de Eredia*, and all the reſt of the Nobles; who apprehended that with their new raiſed Troops, they ſhould not be able to ſtand before the *Caſtilian* Diſciplined and well Armed and Officer'd Army; without having ſeen the Enemy, it diſperſed it ſelf: And *Don Martin de la Nuca*, at whoſe Houſe *Antonio Perez* ſtill remain'd, being returned Home; they conſulted together about the Courſe they were to take how to ſecure their Perſons, now that the *Caſtilian* Army was within Two Days March of *Saragoſa*; and it having been reſolv'd, that *Antonio Perez* ſhould withdraw immediately, for Fear of falling into their Hands, *Don Martin* on

on the 10th of *November*, did in the Night conduct him ſafe out of the City-Gates, and told him, in caſe he were not able to perſwade his Country-Men to make Head againſt the *Caſtilians*, which he ſaid he would once more try to perſwade them to do; he would follow him next Day thorow the Mountains by the Way they had agreed to go. In which Attempt, tho' he did not ſucceed, it was well for *Antonio Perez* that he made a Day's Stay at *Saragoſa* behind him; for had he not done that, it would hardly have been poſſible for him to have made his Eſcape, that City having by his Stay in it, been kept near a Day in Suſpence what to do, and which would otherwiſe have ſent the Keys of their Gates that Day to the *Caſtilian* General, as they did the Day after he left them.

Don Martin having gone to the Conſiſtory as ſoon as it met, told the *Juſtiza*, and the reſt, That now that the *Caſtilian* Army commanded by *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, was at the Door, he deſir'd, before he came to any Reſolution as to his own Perſon, to know what they determin'd to do, and if they intended to defend themſelves, and by Force of Arms to oppoſe the *Caſtilian* Army's entring their City; that he would aſſiſt them with his Perſon in Defence of his Country and its Laws, and of the *Juſtiza*, in Obedi-

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ence to what had been decreed: But that if they would not be perſwaded to that, that he would retire to his Houſe in the Country and remain there; if the Violences and Rigours the preſent Storm diſcharg'd it ſelf in, would ſuffer him to do it.

And having found their Hearts all down, ſo that it was to no Purpoſe to ſpeak to them of defending themſelves, he then deſir'd that the City-Gates might be thrown open for all that would to retire; which having been granted, and order'd to be done, he took Horſe preſently, and rode publickly out of the City attended by a great Number of his Friends and a vaſt Multitude of People, who did all lament his leaving of them; and with whoſe Lamentations *Don Martin* being ſenſibly touched, he told them, 'That 'if his ſtaying would be of any Advantage 'to any of them, that he would not have 'left them, but would have ſtayed and died 'with them; whereas ſince their Affairs 'were brought to the laſt Point of Weakneſs and Miſery, for him to ſtay would 'be but to die vilely; and that as it was not 'Juſt for any to adviſe him to that, ſo neither did he adviſe any to it, but rather to 'retire to a Place where they might be ſafe; 'and not to deliver up themſelves to the 'Judgment of Wrath, the Perſons to 'whom their common Mother their Country

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'ry had intruſted her Sons and their 'Rights; having given ſo ill an Account 'of what they had been truſted with, that 'no good was to be expected, beſides the 'Judgment of Truth, and the Prince's 'Mind quieted, and better informed, and 'which is above all, the Approbation of 'Heaven; and to live, to hear, and ſee. And having thus diſmiſſed his Friends, and the People, *Don Martin* made the beſt of his Way to the Mountains, thorow which by reaſon of the bad Seaſon of the Year, he paſſed with great Difficulty, as *Antonio Perez* and *Gil de Meſa*, who had never parted ſince the 24th of *September*, had done before him; and having found them at *Sallen* the laſt Town in *Arragon*, he carried *Antonio Perez* to a Caſtle of his own that was near; and who before he left *Sallen*, ſent the following Letter by *Gil de Meſa*, to the Lady *Catherine* Siſter to the French King, who was at that Time in *Bearn*, to deſire Leave of her to come into that Kingdom.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Princeſs *Catherine*.

'ANtonio Perez preſents himſelf before 'your Highneſs and the Perſon you 'bear, by Means of this Letter. Madam, 'If there be no Hole nor Corner in the

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'Earth the Noiſe of my Perſecutions has 'not reached; how loud muſt it have rung 'on the high Ground your Highneſs ſtands 'upon? By the Severity and long Duration 'of which Perſecutions, being reduced to the 'laſt Point of Neceſſity, I am by the Law 'of Self-Defence and natural Preſervation 'oblig'd to look out for a Port where I may 'ſave my Self, and eſcape that tempeſtuous 'Sea whoſe Billows have been rais'd, and 'kept up ſo high, and ſo long, by the Paſſi-'ons of ſome Miniſters, as is notorious to 'the World; and which, Madam, has had 'ſufficient Cauſe to look on me, as a Metal 'which has undergone the Hammer and all 'other Proofs.

'I do therefore ſupplicate your Highneſs 'to afford me your Protection and Security, 'for the attaining of that End; or your 'Grace and Favour to guide me in Safety to 'another Princeſs from whom I may receive 'that Benefit; and in which your Highneſs 'will do a Work worthy of your Grandeur, 'in regard that Princes have, and on Earth 'ought to exerciſe, the Nature of the Ele-'ments; ſome of which for the Conſervati-'on of the World, do always receive and 'defend thoſe things which are perſecuted 'and expelled by the others.

'And if Princes when any ſtrange Ani-'mals or Monſters in Nature are brought

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' before them, are glad to ſee them, and do
' look on them with Curioſity, I ſhall pre-
' ſent before your Highneſs a Monſter of
' Fortune, and which is more to be admired
' than any other Monſters, for being the
' Work of more violent Cauſes; Fortune
' having on me exercis'd her Power ſo
' much, as to triumph over Nature and
' People.

From *Salles* the 18th of *November* 1591.

The other Princeſs he mentions in this Letter, was Queen *Elizabeth*, under whoſe Protection, from the beginning, he intended to put himſelf.

In anſwer to which Letter, that moſt religious Princeſs *Catherine* told *Gil de Meſa*, *That* Antonio Perez *might come into* Bearn *when he pleas'd, and that he ſhould be ſure to find Protection there; and ſhould be permitted to enjoy his Religion.*

However, *Don Martin* being amidſt his own Vaſſals, and near to *Bearn*, he reſolv'd to ſtay where he was, and keep *Antonio Perez* with him, untill they heard how things went at *Saragoſa*; into which City the *Caſtilian* General had entered with a good Part of his Army the Day after *Don Martin* left it. And the firſt thing that General after he was in *Saragoſa* did, he order'd a Captain to go with a ſtrong Guard, to fetch the

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Juſtiza of *Arragon* before him; and that Captain having met the *Juſtiza* as he was coming out from his Tribunal, arreſted him in the King's Name, and having had him to the General's Quarters, he met with an Order there to carry him forthwith to the Houſe of *Don John de Portellas*; and to which Place as the *Juſtiza* was going, he was met by two Jeſuits, who told him they were ſent by the Governour to prepare him for Death; the *Juſtiza* asked them how that could be, and whether Sentence of Death had been paſſed upon him by any Judge? The Captain anſwered yes, by the King himſelf; and when they were come to the Houſe, the *Juſtiza* having ask'd to ſee the Sentence, he was ſhew'd a Paper in which the King, with his own Hand, had writ to the General as followeth.

'UPon the Receipt of this, you ſhall cauſe *Don John de la Nuca Juſtiza* of *Arragon* to be arreſted; and you ſhall let me hear of his Death, as ſoon as of his Impriſonment; and ſhall cauſe his Head to be cut off, and order the publick Cryer to make the following Proclamation before him. This is the Juſtice which our Lord the King has commanded to be done to this Gentleman; for being a Traytor, and for having convocated the People, and ſet up

'up a Standard againſt his King; who com-
'mands his Head to be cut off, and all his
'Goods to be confiſcated, and his Caſtles
'and Houſes to be demoliſhed; and he that
'does ſo, let him be thus paid.

The *Juſtiza* when he had read the Paper, ſaid, 'That could not be, ſince by the Con-
'ſtitution of the Government, the *Juſtiza*
'of *Arragon* could not be condemn'd for
'any thing that he did, by any Perſon, or
'by any other Court, than a *Cortez* of the
'whole Kingdom.

But this and whatſoever elſe was alledg'd by the *Juſtiza* againſt the validity of that Sentence, having been overruled by the General; his Head was cut off within Ten Hours after he was arreſted, in the publick Market-place of the City; to the great Mortification of the People, who look'd on all their Rights and Libertys as deſtroy'd, by that Blow which cut off the Head of the *Juſtiza*, who was the ſtanding Guardian of them, and whoſe Perſon was therefore guarded ſo by the Law that he could be queſtioned for nothing that he did, but by the King and the whole Kingdom in *Cortez* aſſembled: But Laws are but feeble and ſilent things among Arms.

Don John de Luna, and *Don Diego de Eredia*, two of the Deputies of the Kingdom

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were beheaded likewiſe; and great Numbers were hang'd; and all that had fled or that abſconded, had their Eſtates confiſcated; and the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, and the *Conde de Aranda* were both, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, arreſted, and ſent Priſoners into *Caſtile*; and where they both died in Priſon.

And tho' a *Cortez* was called ſoon after to meet at *Tarracona*, the *Arragoneſes* were ſo intimidated and aw'd by the ſtrong *Caſtilian* Garriſons which were put into *Saragoſa*, and all the other Towns and Places of Strength; that we do not read of any Remonſtrance having been made by that *Cortez* againſt the foremention'd, and many more publick Violations of their fundamental Laws: And which the King at his coming to that Crown having taken an Oath never to violate himſelf, nor to ſuffer them to be violated, and that under heavy Papal Cenſures, on this Occaſion a new and extravagant Notion was ſtarted in the Court of *Madrid*; and which, if it could be defended, would juſtify all that the King had done to the *Arragoneſes* and their Rights; which new Notion was, That *Don Pelayo*, by having been the firſt King that was ſet up by the *Spaniards*, after the Mooriſh Conqueſt, was not only King of ſo much of that Country as they who had choſen him were at that Time in

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in Poſſeſſion of, or did afterwards conquer; but of all *Spain*, and conſequently of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, tho' thoſe Countries had been taken from the *Moors* by other Princes and People, and had quietly been enjoy'd by them above Five Hundred Years, without any Dependance on *Don Pelayo* and his Heirs; none of which before had ever pretended to or dreamt of any ſuch Right. Now *Philip*, ſaid the Coyners of this new Title, being Heir and Succeſſor to *Don Pelayo*, as he is King of *Leon* and *Caſtile*; he and all his Predeceſſors in thoſe Two Kingdoms, muſt, by Right, have always been Kings of *Arragon*, tho' in Fact they had been ſo but for a few Years: All the Compacts therefore, whereon the *Arragoneſe* Rights and Priviledges were grounded, tho' of Five hundred Years ſtanding, are, and were from their Beginning, void and of no Effect, for having been made betwixt the Subjects of the King of *Leon*, and Princes who had no Title to be their Kings. And thus, to juſtify *Philip*'s having deſtroy'd all the *Arragoneſe* Rights, and to cover him from the Papal Cenſures denounc'd againſt all that ſhould violate any of them, his Anceſtors, the Kings of *Arragon*, muſt all be declar'd Uſurpers; as it is ſaid all our Engliſh Kings were to have been, to have helped the grand Tyrant *Cromwell* to a Title to

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the Crown of *England*, upon a far fetch'd and never before heard of Britiſh Genealogy: And had *Maſſanello* ſucceeded at *Naples*, his Pedigree had undoubtedly before this Time been deriv'd by ſome Herald or other, from the ancient Kings of that Country.

But, as wild as this Notion was, and all that know any thing of the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion muſt know that nothing can be more groundleſs, a Champion was found that undertook to maintain it. And who ſhould it be, but the very ſame Doctor *Madera*, who in Folio had demonſtrated the Relicks and Manuſcripts which were lately found under Ground at *Granada*, to be all True and Genuine; and who by that ſingle Act of his Proweſs, had given ſuch a Proof of the Strength of his Fore-head, that a Cauſe, which could be defended by no other Weapon but that, could in no Age have poſſibly found an abler Champion. But it was always ſo, that let Force of Arms do what it will, Force of Fore-head will always be found and employ'd to maintain it to be Juſt: But mercenary Pens being always ready to palliate, if not to juſtify their worſt Actions, ought to be no Encouragement to Princes to do any thing that is not able to juſtify it ſelf; the Natures of Things being fixt ſo, and being ſo obvious too, that all ſuch Juſtifications

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ons or Palliations, tho' fram'd with never ſo much Art, are too thin, to cover the natural Deformity of illegal and oppreſſive Methods. But how lame ſoever the Vindications of this great Change were; from this Time the *Arragoneſes* do date the Loſs of all thoſe great Rights and Libertys, which were ſo long enjoy'd by their Anceſtors; and with them the Loſs of their Trade and Wealth; which are always ſo fond of ſecur'd Property, that they will leave the moſt fertile Lands, and the beſt Climates, and the moſt commodious Ports, to follow it into Countries which have none of thoſe Conveniencies. But to return to *Antonio Perez*. We may imagine he did not ſtay long in *Arragon*, after he heard of the Tragedies at *Saragoſa*; and ſo, on the 26th of *November*, having put himſelf into a Footman's Livery, he left *Spain*, and went to *Pao*, the firſt Town in *Bearn*, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Princeſs *Catherine*; and the next Day after he was there, his Friend *Don Martin* came to him, and told him, That the Lords of *Concas* and *Pinilla* with Three hundred Men had been at *Sallen* in queſt of him; and though he had Force enough to have fought them, yet, rather than encreaſe the Confuſions of the Kingdom, he had choſen to retire to the Frontiers of *Bearn*; and that when he was there he had ſent

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ſent to thoſe two Gentlemen, to let them know, that if they had any Offer to make to him, he would meet them, attended only by a Friend and ſix Footmen, on a Mountain which parted the two Kingdoms; and that, if they pleas'd, they might bring twelve Servants along with them; and to which Propoſition thoſe two Gentlemen having agreed, they had met accordingly; the firſt thing they asked him was, *Whether he knew what was become of* Antonio Perez? He anſwer'd them, *That he did not know certainly, but did believe that the Rigours which had been uſed with him had drove him into* France; they both ſeem'd to be much troubled at that, and ſaid, *That they had come after him with a Commiſſion to have treated with him, in Order to have accommodated his Matters*; and that he having asked them, *From whom they had that Commiſſion?* they ſaid, *From the Inquiſitor*, and *Don Alonſo de Vargas*; and that upon that he and they had parted, and that he had come after him to know whether, if his Peace could be made with the King and the Inquiſitors, he would be willing to go back to *Spain*.

Antonio Perez's Anſwer to this was, *That there was nothing that he deſir'd ſo much as to return to his own Country, if he could do it with Safety; and that if thoſe Gentlemen would*

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but let him know what Terms they had to offer to him, they ſhould have his Anſwer.

I am inclin'd to think, that *Don Martin*, tho' he was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Friend, by delivering him up to his inraged powerful Enemies; yet, knowing how unwilling the King was, that one who had been ſo long his Secretary, and whom he had truſted with all the Secrets of his Government, ſhould flee either into *France* or *England*, to tell Tales; that he did hope to make his own Peace, by being an Inſtrument of keeping him, but by an Accommodation, from flying into thoſe Kingdoms; and that it was for that End that he carried him back to *Saragoſa*, and kept him at his Houſe after the Commotion on the 24th of *September*; and that he had kept him after he had left the City a ſecond Time ſo many Days from going into *Bearn*; and that after he was in that Kingdom he had gone after him ſo ſoon, to try if he could perſwade him to have gone back.

But whatever End *Don Martin* propos'd to himſelf in this, *Antonio Perez* who knew both the King and the Inquiſitors too well to truſt his Perſon with them, was not by the greateſt Promiſes they could have made him, to be perſwaded to put himſelf any more in their Power; apprehending, and not without Reaſon, that after they had him once

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once in their Hands, they would quickly on ſome Pretence or other have illuded all their Promiſes.

But whatſoever they might have done to him, had they brought him back to *Spain* by fair Promiſes; it is certain that upon his not having return'd thither, they did purſue him from Kingdom to Kingdom by Ruffians which they employed to murther him. For he had not been many Weeks in *France* before a *Spaniard* was apprehended at *Bourdeaux* for having come thither upon that Deſign, and who having been convicted of it, had been hang'd for it had not *Antonio Perez* beg'd his Life of the Princeſs *Catherine* and the Marſhal *Mantignon*; and not long after, two *Spaniards* were hang'd at *Paris*, upon their having been convicted of having come into that Kingdom upon that Errand: And in *London* when he was there, in the Papers which were taken upon two Iriſhmen, who were convicted of having been ſent into *England* to murther the Queen, his Name was found; and by which, one of the Iriſhmen ſaid the Queen was meant; tho' the other deny'd it, and ſaid *Antonio Perez* himſelf was meant by it, and that he had no other Buſineſs in *England* but to have killed him.

And when the Court of *Madrid* found that to have him kill'd was not ſo eaſy a Mat-

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ter, they were for making the Princeſs under whoſe Protection he was, jealous of him; by writing kind Letters to him, and promiſing him great Rewards for the Services he did his King in thoſe Parts; and by forging Anſwers from him to thoſe Letters.

But when that Court could neither procure his Death, nor cauſe the Princeſs who protected him to be jealous of him; they made ſome uſe of him, by charging him with having forg'd all the Letters, which they were aſham'd to own, when they were publiſh'd.

So when that Letter which had been writ by King *Philip* to *Henry* the 4th, whilſt he was only King of *Navarre*, to ingage him to begin a War upon *Henry* the 3d, and in which he offer'd him a great Sum of Money, was ſhew'd to the Pope by the Duke of *Nevers*, upon the *Spaniards* oppoſing that King's Submiſſion of himſelf to the Church of *Rome*; the Court of *Madrid* gave out, that that Letter had been forg'd by *Antonio Perez*; who knew how to counterfeit the King's Hand; and who had carried the King's Signet out of *Spain* with him: And the ſame was given out by that Court as to the Letter which had been writ to the Duke *de Parma*, and which was intercepted in *France*; in which that Duke was commanded

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ed, by ſome Means or other, to eaſe the King of the Duke of *Humena*.

I have not been able to learn, how long the unfortunate *Antonio Perez* liv'd, or how long he ſtaid in *England*; but by the Date of one of his Letters, I find he was alive, and I ſuppoſe in *France*, at the latter End of the Year 1602. By one of his Letters I find he was much called on by ſome of his Friends to publiſh ſome Memoires he had by him; and in another of his Letters, he ſpeaks of twelve Councils of State, which he intended to make Publick; of which one was, that which was aſſembled by *Philip* the 2d, upon his having impriſon'd his Son the Prince *Don Carlos*, and who was afterwards believ'd to have been put to Death by his Father's Order, and in his Preſence. And another was that which was aſſembled on Occaſion of the Inquiſition's having confin'd *Don Bartholomew de Caranza* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, on Suſpicion of his being a Proteſtant, and under which Confinement that great Prelate continued in *Spain* and at *Rome* from the Year 1559 to the Year 1576, when he died. But I am apt to think that neither of thoſe two Books were ever printed; for as, had they been publiſh'd, they would have helped the World to the moſt conſiderable ſecret Hiſtory that it had ever ſeen; ſo they would, for that Reaſon, have been in

in every Body's Hands; whereas upon the best Inquiry that I have been able to make, I do not hear that there are any such Books extant.

Upon the Death of *Philip* the 2d, it was generally reported, that on his Death-Bed he had strictly charg'd his Son, to make Satisfaction to *Antonio Perez*, and to his Family, for the great Wrong he had done them: Which Charge if it was ever given, was never observ'd; no more than that of restoring the Kingdom of *Navar* to the French, from whom it had been unjustly taken; and so could not be detain'd with a good Conscience. Which Restitution, tho' both *Charles* the 5th, and his Son *Philip*, had to deceive their own Consciences, and God if it were possible, strictly commanded their Heirs for to make; yet at the same Time they took care to clog that Command, with a Condition, which they knew very well must hinder it from ever being obey'd; and which did plainly discover that it was not really their Intention or Desire that it should ever be done. For he died in *France* in Exile, some Years after *Philip* the 2d's Death; and miserably Poor, tho' it was said that he had receiv'd great Sums of Money from the Princess *Eboli*, having nothing that was visible left, besides a Vanity, which his Troubles had not been able to mortify in

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him, and which had rendered him unacceptable, both to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to *Henry* the 4th, by both which wise Princes he had been at first kindly entertain'd. For at the Peace of *Vervin*, *Henry* the 4th insisted so on having him pardon'd; that he had been in all probability, had not the *Spaniards* alledg'd, that having fled from the Inquisition, the King could not pardon him; nor if he return'd to *Spain* again, hinder that Court from taking him up. And thus the Inquisition, which at first had been made use of merely upon a feign'd Pretext, to have kept him from going out of *Spain*, (for he lived and died a Papist,) was now made use of to hinder him from having a Pardon, and from having his Wife, Children and Estate restor'd to him, which was all that he desir'd: For if all the Princes in *Europe* would have been his Guarantees, he would not, upon any Articles, have ventur'd himself into *Spain* any more. In several of his Letters, he speaks of *Henry* the 4th's having promis'd him not to restore the Duke *D'Aumale* at the Instance of *Spain*, untill his Wife, Children and Estate were restor'd to him; and of that King's having persisted in that Resolution untill this difficulty concerning the Inquisition was started by the *Spaniards*. For tho' that Prince, nor no true Frenchman, ever had any Kindness for that Court, yet he

he being a new and ſuſpected Convert, might not think it convenient to inſiſt on a Thing, which he knew would very much irritate that implacable Office, and all its Familiars; who would certainly have proclaim'd it as a Teſtimony of his being ſtill a Proteſtant in his Heart: And of that, without his having given them this Evidence of it, they were ſo fully perſwaded, that they were never at Eaſe, before the Jeſuites, by *Ravillac*, their villanous Diſciple's Means, had got that great Prince's Heart in their keeping, at *La Fleche*.

Beſides *Antonio Perez*, Don *Martin de la Nuca*, and *Gil de Meſa*, and ſome more *Aragoneſe* Gentlemen, who had been driven by the *Caſtilian* Army into *France*, died in that Kingdom; being afraid, though they were reſtor'd by the Peace of *Vervin*, to return to their own Country, now that it had loſt all its Rights, and where they knew it would be eaſy for the Inquiſition, after their having liv'd in a Country where there were Hereticks, on ſome Pretence or other, to defeat their Indemnity to all Intents and Purpoſes.

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An Excerpt from the Spaniſh *Hiſtorys, relating to* Antonio Perez *and his Troubles.*

The *Spaniard* by whom *Mariana's* Hiſtory is continued, on the Year 1591 writes as followeth.

Antonio Perez, who had been the King's Secretary and who had much Power in the Court, after having been twelve years a Priſoner, made his Eſcape in *April* in the foregoing Year, out of the Priſon of *Madrid*, and fled into *Arragon*, to preſent himſelf before the *Juſtiza* of *Arragon*; to give an Account how he had caus'd *Eſcovedo* to be kill'd as he went from the Pallace, and of ſome other Matters which had been laid to his Charge.

The Joy with which ſome unquiet Spirits received the News of his being come among them, was quickly turn'd into Lamentations and Tears; ſuch is the Condition of human Affairs, and which was thus. On the 24th of *May* in this Year 1591, *Antonio Perez* having been taken out of the Priſon of the

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the *Juſtiza* and carried to the Priſons of the Inquiſitors, the People took up Arms, and proclaim'd *Liberty*, and who having fallen upon the Houſe of *Don Inigo de Mendoza* Marquis *de Almanera*, who was the King's Miniſter, they kill'd him before they left him; and having after that gone with the ſame Fury to the Inquiſition, with an Intention to have broke open its Priſons, they did not deſiſt, untill they had *Antonio Perez* brought out, and carried back again to his former Priſon.

The Iſſue of which was, the People roſe again on the 24th of *September*, upon the Inquiſitors having come to the *Manifeſtation* to carry *Antonio Perez* a ſecond Time to their Priſons; and having broken into the Priſon of the *Manifeſtation*, they ſet *Antonio Perez* at Liberty, and in this Revolt ſeveral were killed and wounded. *Antonio Perez* fled ſoon after into *France*, where ſome Years after he died.

Alphonſo Sanchez in his Hiſtory of *Spain* on the ſame Year writes as followeth.

'THE Commotions in *Arragon* do
'follow: The Origin of which was
'*Antonio Perez*, the King's Secretary, having
'fled to the Rights of *Arragon*: The Po-
'pulace, whoſe Strength uſeth to be formi-

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'dable, having taken up Arms to defend 'their Rights and Liberty, did raise great 'Commotions, and in defending *Antonio* 'they broke open Prisons, and killed *Inigo* 'de *Mendoza* Marquis of *Almanera*; and ha-'ving by that provoked the King's Wrath 'and Severity against them, *Alonso de Var-'gas* an experienced Commander was sent 'into *Arragon* with an Army, by whom the 'Guilty having been punished, the Com-'motions were quieted; and for the future 'they were chastiz'd, by having their Tri-'bune of the People, or, as they called him, 'their *Justiza*, publickly put to Death.

In these Accounts, the Reader may observe; that tho' they were both printed in *Spain*, there is not the least Intimation of the King's having been unjustly charg'd by *Antonio Perez* with *Escovedo*'s Death.

FINIS.

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AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

Diſſertation

ON THE

Papal Supremacy, &c.

HAving ſaid in that Diſſertation, that Pope *Gregory* the Great's double Dealing in the Affair of the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy*; and his Letters, firſt to the Emperor *Mauritius*, and afterwards to the Parricide *Phocas*, by whom that Emperor and his Sons were barbarouſly murthered; were enough to leſſen the high Opinion which many have of that Pope's Saintſhip; that I may not be thought by any, who have not thoſe Letters at Hand, to have bolted this out raſhly againſt him, I have here ſet thoſe Letters down, that the Reader may judge from them as he ſhall find Cauſe.

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Gregory to *Mauritius Auguſtus.*

'HE is guilty before Almighty God, who is not pure in all he doth and ſaith to the moſt ſerene Lords: I, the unworthy Servant of your Piety, in this Suggeſtion do ſpeak, neither as a Biſhop, nor as a Servant, by right of the Republick, but as a private Perſon; becauſe, moſt Serene Lord, you were my Lord before you were Lord of all. The moſt illuſtrious Perſon *Longinus* being come, I receiv'd the Lords Law; and to which, being at that Time Sick and Weak, I was not able to return an Anſwer: In which Law the Piety of the Lords does Eſtabliſh, *That none engag'd in the publick Adminiſtrations, ſhall take upon them an Eccleſiaſtical Office*: This I did highly commend, knowing evidently, that whoever leaves the Secular Habit, and makes haſte to get into Eccleſiaſtical Offices, does change, but does not forſake the World: But it being ſaid in the ſame Law, *That it ſhall not be lawful for him to retire to a Monaſtery*, at this, I did wonder very much; ſeeing his Accounts may be made up there; and it may be ſo order'd, that his Debts ſhall be paid by the Place which hath receiv'd him: For if any do retire to a Monaſtery, with

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'a devout Mind, he must first restore the 'things which he hath taken unjustly; and 'which he will do with the more Expediti'on, the more seriously he thinks of his 'Soul. Its being also subjoyn'd to that 'Law, *That none that are sign'd in the Hand 'may retire to Monasteries*, is, I do own to 'my Lords, a Constitution that terrifies 'me vehemently; the Way to Heaven, to 'many, being shut by it; and that which 'hath been hitherto lawful, is now forbid'den: For as there are many who can lead 'a religious Life in a secular Habit, so there 'be many likewise, who, if they do not 'leave all, cannot be saved: And tho' I, 'who do speak these things to my Lords, '*Am but Dust, and a Worm*; yet, believing 'this Constitution to be contrary to God, 'the Author of all things, I cannot be si'lent before the Lords: For to this End, a 'Power over all Men was given from Hea'ven, to the Piety of my Lords; that they 'who desire that which is good should be 'assisted, and that the Way to Heaven 'should be wider, and that the Earthly 'Kingdom should serve the Heavenly: 'And yet, behold, it is said with a loud 'Voice, *That it shall not be lawful for any that 'are listed in the Earthly Militia, untill they 'have serv'd their time out in it, or are dis'abled by Bodily Infirmities, to fight under 'Christ;*

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' *Chriſt:* To theſe things, behold, Chriſt ' will anſwer by me, his and your loweſt ' Servant, ſaying, *From a* Notarius, *I made* ' *you* Comes Excubitorum; *and from* Co- ' mes Excubitorum, *I made you* Cæſar; *and* ' *from* Cæſar, *I made you* Emperor; *and not* ' *ſo only, but the Father of Emperors: I have* ' *committed my Prieſts into your Hands, and do* ' *you withdraw your Soldiers from my Service?* ' Moſt Pious Lord, I beſeech you, let your ' Servant know what Anſwer you will re- ' turn to your Lord in Judgment, when he ' ſhall come and ſay theſe things. But per- ' haps it is believ'd, that none that do retire ' thus to Monaſteries, do it with a good In- ' tention; but I, your unworthy Servant, ' in my own Days have known many Soldi- ' ers work Signs and Miracles in Monaſte- ' ries; and yet by this Law all ſuch are for- ' bid to go into them. I beſeech my Lord ' to enquire whether any former Emperor ' did ever make ſuch a Law, and after that, ' to conſider this more ſtrictly; and in truth ' it ought to be well conſider'd, ſince People, ' at the time when the End of the World is ' near, are forbid by it to leave the World; ' For behold, it will not be long before the ' Heavens and the Earth being on Fire, and ' Elements all in Flames, the Tremendous ' Judge will appear with Angels and Arch- ' angels, with Thrones and Dominions,

' with

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'with Principalities and Powers; and, if 'he ſhould forgive all Sins, and ſhould only 'inſiſt on this Law's having been made a-'gainſt him, what, I beſeech you, can be 'offer'd in excuſe? I do therefore by the tre-'mendous Judge, deprecate; that *ſo many 'Tears, ſo many Prayers, ſo many Alms-Deeds,* 'and *ſo many Faſts*, may not on any Occaſi-'on be ſullied before the Eyes of Almighty 'God: But that your Piety will, by either 'tempering or changing the ſaid Law, a-'bate its Rigour: For the Armies of Lords 'do increaſe againſt their Enemies, as God's 'Army in Prayer encreaſeth: However, be-'ing ſubject to Command, I have ſent that 'Law over many Parts of the Earth; and 'ſince the ſaid Law is not agreeable to Al-'mighty God, behold, I have by this Paper 'communicated my Suggeſtion to the moſt 'Serene Lords; and ſo have on both Sides 'perform'd what was incumbent on me, 'by having yielded Obedience to the Em-'peror, and by not having been ſilent in 'what I thought concern'd God,

How ſtrangely is the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Stile alter'd from what it was when this Letter was written! which ſhews plainly that about the Year Six hundred the Biſhop of *Rome* was not leſs ſubject to the Empe-ror, than the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is at this

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this time to the Queen of *England*. And tho' in this Letter Pope *Gregory* was much diſſatisfy'd with the Law the Emperour *Mauritius* had made; yet all thro' it, he expreſſeth a very great Veneration and Love for *Mauritius*, whoſe Servant he ſaith he had been, before he was rais'd to be Emperor: He does alſo extol *Mauritius* for his Piety and many good Deeds, praying that they may not be ſullied in the Sight of God by this Law, with which tho' he was much diſſatisfy'd, yet in Obedience to the Emperor's Command it was ſent by him to all Parts: And which, believing that Law to be ſinful, as *Gregory* did, who ſaith expreſly that it was *contrary to Chriſt*, and *did ſtop the Way to Heaven to many*; he, nor no other Biſhop, being ſo perſwaded, ought to have publiſhed: Neither is *Gregory*'s having afterwards ſent a private Suggeſtion againſt that Law to the Emperor, ſufficient to excuſe his having publiſh'd it in Contradiction to his Conſcience. And as this Action ſhews *Gregory* to have been one of a very complaiſant Conſcience; ſo this whole Letter does plainly ſhew how much ſubject to the Emperor *Gregory* did reckon the Biſhop of *Rome* to be: For, ſhould the preſent *Roman* Emperor but make ſuch a Law, and ſend it to the Pope, commanding him to publiſh it in *Italy*; what a Hurricane would it raiſe there?

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and the Emperor instead of being told by that Bishop, that he was *his Majesty's unworthy Servant, and but as Dust and a Worm before him; and that tho' he judged that to be an ill Law, he had nevertheless, in Obedience to his Command publish'd it,* would infallibly hear from him, of the Bishop of *Rome*'s being Christ's Vicar upon Earth, highly exalted above all Emperors and Kings; and, if he did not immediately revoke that Law, that Prelate would tell him, that he would deprive him of his Imperial Dignity: So little is *Gregory*'s Example, tho' he was the last Pope that was reckoned a Saint, regarded by his Successors; by whom, or their Agents, on purpose to teach *Gregory* to speak in a Dialect more agreeable to their own, several Writings have been forg'd under that Pope's Name, and particularly that Charter which *Gregory* is said to have granted to the Monastery of St. *Menard*; in which Charter, he does by his own Authority deprive all Kings of their Crowns, that shall any ways disturb the Monks of that Convent: Not that *Gregory* had not two Faces, a humble, and a proud; and which he did change as he saw Occasion.

Gregorius Mauritio Augusto.

THE Piety of Emperors, which does use to extend it self mercifully to their Servants, did shine so in this benign

Relief,

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'Relief, that the Poverty of all the Infirm is 'reliev'd by the consolation of its great- 'ness; and for which Cause *we do all with 'Tears and Prayers beg, that Almighty God, 'who touched your Clemency's Heart to do this 'thing, would preserve yours and your Son's 'Empire, safe in the constancy of his Love; 'and would, with the Assistance of his Majesty, 'extend your Victories over all Nations.* The 'thirty Pound of Gold which was brought 'hither by my fellow Servant *Busa*, was 'faithfully distributed by *Scribo* amongst 'the Priests, the Poor, and others, and some 'Nuns, after they had been Captives, ha- 'ving fled from divers Provinces into this 'City; as many of them as this Place could 'receive, were dispos'd of in Monasteries; 'and among those for whom there was no 'Room, and did live alone poorly, the 'overplus of that which given to the 'Blind and to the Lame and to other in- 'firm People, was distributed: So that not 'only the poor Natives, but Strangers also 'who have come hither, have partaked of 'the Bounty of the Emperors: And who 'do all therefore pray unanimously toge- 'ther for the Lives of the Emperors; and 'that Almighty God would grant you long 'and quiet Times, and that your Piety's 'most happy Offspring may long flourish 'in the *Roman* Common-Wealth: The Sol- 'diers

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'diers Gowns were likewise made so by the 'forenam'd my fellow Servant *Scribo*, in the 'Presence of the glorious *Rasco*, that all that 'are under a due Discipline, did with Thanks 'receive the Gifts of the Emperors, to the 'averting of that murmuring which did for-'merly use to reign.

By this Letter in which *Gregory* extols the Emperor *Mauritius* so much for his Piety and great Charity, and does with Tears pray to God for his, and his Son's long Life, and Posterity in the Empire; one might well have expected, that the villanous Murder of those Princes by their Servant *Phocas*, must have been a terrible Blow to *Gregory*, their old Servant, as he calls himself, and their well-wisher, and who had shed so many Tears in Prayers for their Prosperity; and so it would certainly, had those Professions of *Gregory*'s been sincere: But so far was this Saint of a Pope, from being afflicted with the News of the barbarous and unnatural Murders of those Princes, for whom he had pretended to have so tender an Affection, that, on the contrary, he triumph'd in them, and immediately made his Court to their villanous Murderer *Phocas*, in a Strain much fitter for a *Hugh Peters*, than for a Saint: For, when the Picture of *Phocas* and of his Wife *Leontia* came to *Rome*,

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Rome, *Gregory* order'd it with great Solemnity to be set up in the Oratory of St. *Cæsarius*, in the Imperial Palace; as appears from the following Inscription.

In the Name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by the sixth Indiction, on the Twenty third Day of the Month of November, *in the Times of the Lord and most blessed Pope* Gregory; Phocas *with* Leontia Augusta, *was crowned, in the seventh Palace, which is called* Secundianas: *And* Mauritius *the Emperor, was slain with all his Sons, who were* Theodosius, *who was crowned,* Tiberius, Petrus, Paulus, *and* Justinianus, *together with* Petrus *the Brother of the abovewritten* Mauritius Augustus; *as were also several of the Nobles who adhered to him, to wit* Constantinus *a* Patrician, *and* Curator de Placidiis; *as also* Georgius *the Princes* Notarius: *The Picture of the abovewritten* Phocas, *and* Leontia, Augustus's, *came to* Rome *on the seventh of the Calends of* May; *and who were proclaim'd in the* Lateran, *and in the* Basilica *of* Julius, *by all the Clergy and Senate, saying,* Hear, O Christ! *Life to* Phocas Augustus, *and to* Leontia Augusta. *The most blessed Lord and Apostolical Pope* Gregory, *did command that Picture to*

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to be set up in the Oratory of St. Cæsarius *the Martyr, within the Palace.*

Now, to what End did *Gregory*, in the Honours he was here doing to *Phocas*, mention the Emperor *Mauritius*, and his five Sons, and others being slain; unless he reckoned those Villanies to be *Phocas*'s Trophies; and which if he did, he does not only not deserve the Title of Saint, but no Title is bad enough to give him in the Room of it. But let that be as it will, *Gregory*'s congratulating of *Phocas* as he does in the following Letter, upon his coming to the Empire; is enough to turn the Hearts of all against that Pope, that have any thing of Conscience or Honour unsuppressed in them by Superstition.

Gregorius Phocæ Augusto.

GLory be to God in the highest, who, according as it is written, Changeth the Times and transfers Kingdoms; *that also is manifest to all, which he has condescended to speak by his Prophet, saying,* The Highest ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and he giveth it to whom he pleaseth: *The Regiments of mortal Life are in the incomprehensible Dispensation of Almighty God; and so when the Sins of many that are Righteous, are to be smitten, one is exalted by whose hardness the Necks of the Subjects are depressed with the Yoke of Tribulation; and which we in our Affliction have long experienc'd: At another time again, when the merciful God has decreed to comfort the Hearts of many Mourners with his Consolation, he raiseth one to the*

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Top of the Empire, thro' the Bowels of whoſe Mercy, he pours the Grace of his Rejoycings into the Minds of all; With the Abundance of which Joys we the ſooner believed we ſhould be ſtrengthened, becauſe we rejoyc'd ſo upon the Benignity of your Piety being rais'd to the Empire. Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad upon your gracious Deeds, and let all the People of the Common-wealth, who hitherto have been ſo grievouſly afflicted, triumph: *May the proud Minds of Enemys be depreſſed, by the Yoke of your Domination; and the contrite and diſtreſſed Minds of Subjects be raiſed by your Mercy: May the Virtue of the Heavenly Grace make you terrible to the Enemies, and Piety make you benign to the Subjects: May the whole Common-wealth be in Peace in your moſt happy Times, and may the Prey of Peace under the Pretence of Actions be removed. Let the Snares of Teſtaments, and the Free Gifts violently exacted, ceaſe; and let the ſecure Poſſeſſion of their Goods return to all; that ſo they may rejoyce in the Enjoyment of thoſe Goods without Fear, which they have acquir'd without Fraud: And let every one's Liberty be reſtored under the Yoke of your Pious Empire: For the Difference which is betwixt the Kings of the Nations, and the Emperors of the Common-wealth, is, that the Kings of the Nations are Lords of Slaves, but the Emperours of the Republick are Lords of Free Men: But we can expreſs this by Praying better than by Suggeſting. May Almighty God therefore by his Grace hold your Piety's Heart in his Hand, in every Thought and Deed; and may the holy Spirit, by dwelling in your Heart, diſpoſe it to do every thing that is Juſt and Merciful; that ſo your Clemency after a long Reign on Earth, may attain the Heavenly Kingdoms.*

It

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It was by *Gregory*'s, and his Succeſſor *Boniface*'s ſaying nothing of Repentance to *Phocas*, and making their Court in this vile and impious Manner, that they got that Paricide and Uſurper to eſtabliſh the *Supremacy* of the Biſhop of *Rome*; *Phocas* hoping thereby to have engag'd that Biſhop in his own and in his Family's Intereſts in the *Roman* Empire. Now after all this, I can ſee no Grounds for this *Gregory*'s being commonly ſaid, to be, *The laſt good Pope, and the firſt bad Pope*, unleſs it be from his Doublings having given him a double Character: Pride and Humility having, thro' his whole Conduct, taken their Turns in him, as he judged to be moſt convenient for the Advancing of his See: And as to his Diſloyalty, Diſſimulation, Ingratitude, *&c.* the foregoing Letters do ſhew how great they were: And it had been happy for our Iſland if the *Saxons* had been converted to Chriſtianity by the *Britiſh* Clergy, and not By this Pope and his Diſciples; ſince, if they had, it is likely *Britain* might never have come under the *Papal Supremacy*; under whoſe Bondage ſhe having groan'd for many Ages, was, thro' God's great Mercy to her, at laſt happily deliver'd out of it.

Baronius having been compelled, by their being ſo palpably Spurious, to acknowledge the *Decretal Epiſtles to be late and counterfeit Writings*; that the Church of *Rome*, whoſe

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Interests were continually in that Cardinal's Eye, might not suffer by its being known, that she had for several Ages, and for great Purposes, made use of those forged Deeds; he roundly deny'd their Authority ever to have been made use of by the Popes, to prove or advance their own: Which is so far from being true, that the Popes knowing those *Epistles* to be the only Evidences they had of their *Supremacy*'s having been from the *Beginning*, they contended vehemently to impose them on the World, as the Genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, under whose Names they were published. And so successful were the Popes in that Matter, that thro' many unlearned Ages, none doubted of those Epistles being Genuine: Neither indeed did any thing contribute so much to the Belief of the *Papal Supremacy* having been always in the Church, and to the introducing of that *Supremacy* into the Countrys which were not subject to the *Roman* Empire, at the Time when that *Supremacy* was Established in it by the Emperor *Phocas*, as those Epistles having been universally believed to be the Genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of *Rome* whose Names are before them. And to let the World see how little regard *Baronius*'s Word deserves, in any Matter where the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is concerned, I shall here give an early Instance of the Popes having

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ving made uſe of *thoſe forged Deeds*, to prove and eſtabliſh a great Branch of their *Supremacy*.

Hincmarus, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and other *French* Biſhops, having, in the Ninth Century, by their own Authority, without taking any Notice of the Pope, depoſed *Rothaldus* Biſhop of *Soiſon*, and that Biſhop having appealed to *Rome*; the Pope, who at that time was *Nicholas* the Eighth, to encourage ſuch Appeals, declar'd that Sentence to be void, for having been paſs'd without his conſent or knowledge: *Hincmarus* and the other *French* Biſhops deny'd the Biſhop of *Rome* to have any ſuch Authority over the *French* Church, and rejected *the Decretal Epiſtles*, which had not then been long in *France*, as Writings lately counterfeited, upon the Pope and his Agents having made uſe of thoſe *Epiſtles* to prove that ſuch an Authority over all Churches was from the Beginning lodged in the See of *Rome*: Pope *Nicholas* finding his beſt, if not only Evidences, ſlighted thus as counterfeit Writings, he did with all his might ſet himſelf to prove thoſe *Epiſtles* to be Genuine: I ſhall here ſet down that Pope's own Words to that purpoſe, as they lie in a Letter which he writ on this Occaſion to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *France* in the Year 865.

'God forbid, ſaith Pope *Nicholas* in that 'Letter, that any who do perſevere in the 'Catholick

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'Catholick Faith to the laſt Day of their 'Lives, ſhould not, with great Diſcretion, 'and a due Veneration, embrace the *Decre-* 'tal Conſtitutions, and all the Writings 'which do ſet forth the Eccleſiaſtical Diſ- 'cipline; and which Writings having been 'anciently conſerved, and as they are ſtill 'in the *Roman* Church, in her Archives 'and old Monuments, *they were ſent by her* 'to you to conſerve: God forbid that we 'ſhould any way ſlight the Writings of 'thoſe, who with their Roſy Blood, or 'dewy Sweats, or Diſcourſes, have, we ſee, 'thro' God's Grace, adorned the Church: 'For, if by their Decrees the Works of all 'other Writings are approved or rejected; 'ſo that whatever the Apoſtolical See ap- 'proved of, is at this Day receiv'd, and 'what that See has rejected is ineffectual; 'how much more then ought the Works 'which that See it ſelf has written, at di- 'vers Times for the Catholick Faith, and 'for the repelling of profane Doctrines, in 'various and manifold Neceſſities, to be 'preferr'd with all Honour; and to be, on 'all Occaſions and Diſpenſations, reverent- 'ly receiv'd by all with Diſcretion?

'For even ſome of you, who have writ, 'that thoſe Decretals of the ancient Popes 'are not in all the Body of the Code of the 'Canons; have, notwithſtanding, made 'uſe of thoſe Writings when they made

'for

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'for their Purpoſe; but do now reject 'them, only for to diminiſh the Power of 'the Apoſtolical See, and for to augment 'their own Priviledges: For we have ſome 'of their Writings by us, in which, in their 'own Cauſes, they do reverence not only 'the Decrees of all the *Roman* Pontiffs, but 'alſo thoſe of their own Predeceſſors; but 'it is otherwiſe with them, when we do not 'ceaſe to oppoſe their Minds, and do ſup-'port the Priviledges which are proved to 'have been, and ſtill to be profitable, and 'which will always be ſo to the univerſal 'Church: For it is fit that where the build-'ing of the whole Fabrick ſtands, there 'ſhould be in all things a firm and ſtrong 'Foundation: And if *the Decretal Epiſtles 'of the ancient* Roman *Pontiffs* are not to be 'receiv'd becauſe they are not found in the 'Code of the Canons; for the ſame Reaſon, 'no Inſtitute nor Writing of St. *Gregory*, 'or of any other before or after him, ought 'to be received, ſeeing they are not in that 'Code: Let ſuch therefore tear thoſe Doc-'trines and Sanctions out of their Books, 'for to what purpoſe ſhould they find a 'Place in their Parchments, if they do not 'receive them? But why do we dwell on 'this, ſince, by the ſame Rule, we muſt not 'receive the divine Scriptures, which are 'not neither in the Code of the Eccleſiaſti-'cal Canons?

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Unless false Logick, or Canting, is able to legitimate Spurious Writings, the *Decretal Epistles* gain'd but little Credit by what is offered here in their Defence by Pope *Nicholas*: And if there be not an undeniable Proof, of what is universally believ'd, of the *Decretal Epistles* having been all forged in *Spain*; what is said here by Pope *Nicholas*, *of their having been sent into* France *from* Rome, *in whose Archives they had been long sacredly conserved*, may raise a Suspicion, of *Rome's*, for whose Sake those Epistles were counterfeited, having been the Place of their Nativity; and from whence, they might have first been sent into *Spain*, and might have crept out of *Spain* into *France*, before they were sent thither immediately by the Pope: But this I do offer only as a Conjecture. And as to the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, of which the Bishop of *Rome*, and particularly this Pope *Nicholas*, did likewise make great use to introduce and establish the *Supremacy* of their See; if those Canons were ranked with the *Decretal Epistles*, they would not perhaps have much Wrong done them: And would any Ecclesiastical Antiquary write a full and accurate History of those Canons, he would very much oblige the Protestant World by it; for tho' much has been written upon them, I do not take that Subject to be exhausted.

FINIS.

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